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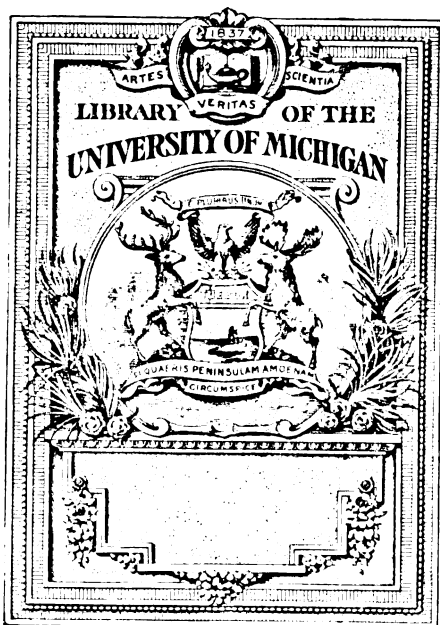
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**PROCEEDINGS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
FOR THE YEAR
1909-1910**

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**PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
FOR
THE YEAR 1909-1910**

VOLUME III

**EDITED BY
BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH
SUPERINTENDENT OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA**



**THE TORCH PRESS
CEDAR RAPIDS, IOWA
1911**

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CONSTITUTION OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

I — NAME

The name of this organization shall be the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

II — OBJECT

The object of the Association shall be to promote historical study and research and to secure coöperation between the historical societies and the departments of history of the Mississippi Valley.

III — MEMBERSHIP

Any one interested in the study of Mississippi Valley history may become an active member upon payment of the dues hereinafter provided.

IV — OFFICERS

The officers of the Association shall be a President, a Vice President, and a Secretary-Treasurer, who with two other active members, and such ex-Presidents of the Association as retain their membership therein, shall constitute the Executive Committee. All officers shall be elected at the annual meeting, and shall hold office for one year or until their successors are elected and have qualified. The Executive Committee shall have general charge of the affairs of the Association, including the calling of meetings and selection of papers to be read.

V — MEETINGS

A regular annual meeting and a mid-year meeting of the Association shall be held on such dates and at such places as the Executive Committee may determine.

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VI — DUES

The annual dues for active members shall be one dollar.

VII — AMENDMENTS

This Constitution may be amended at any regular meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at a previous meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the Executive Committee.

**OFFICERS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION FOR
THE YEAR 1909-1910**

PRESIDENT

ORIN G. LIBBY, PH. D.

Secretary of the State Historical Society of North Dakota

VICE PRESIDENT

BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH, A. M., PH. D.

Superintendent of The State Historical Society of Iowa

SECRETARY-TREASURER

CLARENCE S. PAINE

Secretary of the Nebraska State Historical Society

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

In addition to above named officers

(EX-PRESIDENTS)

FRANCIS A. SAMPSON, LL. B.

Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri

THOMAS M. OWEN, A. M., LL. D.

*Director of the Department of Archives and History of the State
of Alabama*

CLARENCE W. ALVORD, PH. D.

Associate Professor, University of Illinois

(ELECTED)

DUNBAR ROWLAND, LL. D.

*Director of the Department of Archives and History of the State
of Mississippi*

CHARLES E. BROWN

Chief of the Wisconsin State Historical Museum

**THE MEETINGS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
1909-1910**

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THE MEETINGS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION 1909-1910

JANUARY MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION (Lincoln, Nebraska, January 18, 1910)

REGULAR SESSION

Although negotiations were conducted by Mr. O. G. Libby, President of the Association, relative to the holding of a session of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at the time and place of the meeting of the American Historical Association, final arrangements were not completed; and so no session of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held in December, 1909, at New York City. However, upon the call of the President and Secretary a meeting of the Association was held at Lincoln, Nebraska, on January 18, 1910.

This meeting of the Association was called to order at 2:30 o'clock, P. M., by the Secretary. In the absence of the President and Vice President, Mr. Robert Harvey was elected temporary chairman. The call for the meeting as read by the Secretary was as follows:

Lincoln, Nebraska, January 3, 1910.

There will be a special meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, held at the First Christian Church, Lincoln, Nebraska, at 2:30 P. M., on January 18, 1910. This meeting is called for the purpose of considering Amendments to Articles IV and V of the Constitution, such Amendments having the approval of the Executive Committee and providing that

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the Executive Committee shall determine the date as well as the place for holding the regular meetings of the Association.

(Signed) O. G. LIBBY,
President.

C. S. PAINE,
Secretary.

The following resolution was offered by the Secretary:

Be it Resolved by the Mississippi Valley Historical Association: That section four (IV) of the Constitution be amended to read as follows:

"The officers of the Association shall be a President, a Vice President, and a Secretary-Treasurer, who with two other active members, and such ex-Presidents of the Association as retain their membership therein, shall constitute the Executive Committee. All officers shall be elected at the annual meeting, and shall hold office for one year or until their successors are elected and have qualified. The Executive Committee shall have general charge of the affairs of the Association, including the calling of meetings and selection of papers to be read."

That Section five (V) be amended to read as follows:

"A regular annual meeting and a mid-year meeting of the Association shall be held on such dates and at such places as the Executive Committee may determine."

And that sections four (IV) and five (V) of the Constitution as heretofore existing be and the same are hereby repealed.

The foregoing amendments to the Constitution, having the approval of a majority of the Executive Committee, were formally considered, and on motion of the Secretary the resolution was adopted, and the chairman declared sections four (IV) and five (V) of the Constitution amended in accordance therewith.

Mr. James Mooney of the Bureau of American Ethnology was then introduced and delivered an address on *In Kiowa Camps*. A paper was read by Mr. Geo. W. Martin, Secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, on *The Kansas-Nebraska Boundary Line*. A paper by

Mr. Doane Robinson, presenting *Some Side Lights on the Character of Sitting Bull*, was, in the absence of Mr. Robinson, read by Mr. William E. Hannan, of Lincoln, Nebraska. The reading of this paper concluded the session.

THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION

(Iowa City, Iowa, May 26 and 27, 1910)

The third annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held on May 26 and 27, 1910, at Iowa City, Iowa. The local arrangements for the meeting were in charge of Mr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Vice President of the Association and Superintendent of The State Historical Society of Iowa.

Preliminary to the sessions of the Association, a program was presented under the auspices of The State Historical Society of Iowa on May 25. The chief features of this program were (1) an address by Mr. Laenas G. Weld, a Curator of The State Historical Society of Iowa, entitled *On the Way to Iowa*; (2) a Conference of Local Historical Societies in Iowa, presided over by Mr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Superintendent of The State Historical Society of Iowa; and (3) an address on *Abraham Lincoln* by Mr. Joseph Newton of Cedar Rapids, Iowa. The addresses by Mr. Weld and Mr. Newton and the proceedings of the Conference of Local Historical Societies in Iowa have been published by The State Historical Society of Iowa.

FIRST SESSION

The first session of the third annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held in the Assembly Room of the Hall of Liberal Arts on Thursday, May 26, at 10:00 o'clock A. M. The meeting was called to order by Mr. Euclid Sanders, President of The State Historical Society of Iowa, who presented Mr. George Edwin MacLean, President of the State Uni-

versity of Iowa. President MacLean in a formal address welcomed the members of the Association in the name of the State University of Iowa and of The State Historical Society of Iowa. President Orin G. Libby then read a paper on *Professional Ideals*. *The Pioneer and the Forest* was the subject of a paper by Mr. Bohumil Shimek of Iowa City. Mr. Albert Watkins, Historian of the Nebraska State Historical Society, discussed *The Evolution of Nebraska*. The program of the morning was concluded with a paper by Mr. Charles E. Brown, of Madison, Wisconsin, on *The State Historical Museum*.

At 12:30 P. M. a luncheon was tendered to the members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the members of The State Historical Society of Iowa by Mr. and Mrs. Arthur J. Cox at their home on Clinton Street.

SECOND SESSION

The first part of the second session was devoted to a Conference of Teachers of History, presided over by Mr. James A. James of Evanston, Illinois. The conference opened with a paper by Mr. Andrew C. McLaughlin of the University of Chicago on *The Chief Features of the Report of the Committee of Five of the American Historical Association*.

A discussion of the subject *To What Extent Can an Effective Use of the Sources be Made in Secondary Teaching* was opened with a paper by Mr. Guernsey Jones of the University of Nebraska, followed by Mr. Edward C. Page of De Kalb, Illinois, and Mr. Jay T. Colegrove of Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

The subject *To What Extent May the Teaching of History and Civics be Correlated and How Best Accomplished* was discussed by Mr. Thomas F. Moran of La Fayette, Indiana, Mr. Oliver M. Dickerson of Macomb, Illinois, Mr. L. A. Fulwider of Freeport, Illinois, and Mr. Horace C. Wright of Berwyn, Illinois.

This conference was followed by a conference of Mississippi Valley Historical Societies, presided over by Mr. Edgar R. Harlan of Des Moines, Iowa. Informal reports were presented as follows: by Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber for the Illinois State Historical Society; by Mr. Milo M. Quaife for the Chicago Historical Society; by Mr. Francis A. Sampson for the State Historical Society of Missouri; by Mr. Clarence S. Paine for the Nebraska State Historical Society; by Mr. Orin G. Libby for the State Historical Society of North Dakota; by Mr. Emilinus O. Randall for the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society; by Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites for the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; by Mr. Isaac Joslin Cox for the Ohio Valley Historical Association; and by Mr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh for The State Historical Society of Iowa. Although unable to be present Mr. W. O. Hart forwarded a report for the Louisiana Historical Society.

THIRD SESSION

The third session was held on Thursday evening, May 26, at 8:00 o'clock in the Assembly Room of the Hall of Liberal Arts. Two addresses constituted the program for this session. The first was by Mr. Frederick J. Turner, President of the American Historical Association, on *The Significance of the Mississippi Valley in American History*. The second address of the evening was on *The Duty of the State in Relation to its History* by Mr. John Lee Webster, President of the Nebraska State Historical Society.

This session was concluded by an informal reception tendered by the Board of Curators of The State Historical Society of Iowa in the rooms of the Society.

FOURTH SESSION

The fourth session was held on Friday morning, May 27, at 10:00 o'clock, in the Assembly Room of the Hall of

Liberal Arts. The session opened with a paper on *The Significance of the Louisiana-Texas Frontier*, by Mr. Isaac Joslin Cox, President of the Ohio Valley Historical Association. Mr. Cox was followed by Mr. Olynthus B. Clark of Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa, who read a paper on *The Bid of the West for the National Capital*. The next paper was on *Detroit and George Rogers Clark, 1780-1781*, by Mr. James A. James of Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.

After a recess of five minutes, President Libby called the Association to order for the transaction of business. The Secretary read the minutes of the special meeting of January 18, 1910, which were approved. The report of the Secretary-Treasurer was then read and approved. The Secretary-Treasurer was directed to take the necessary steps to have the Association incorporated; and it was decided that in the future the Association should assume all financial responsibility for indebtedness incurred in its behalf. The financial report of the Secretary-Treasurer was referred to an Auditing Committee composed of Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, Mr. James A. James, and Mr. Euclid Sanders.

The President named the following Committee on Resolutions: Mr. Isaac J. Cox, Mr. Edgar R. Harlan, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Mr. John L. Webster, and Mr. James W. Ellis.

The plan of publication recommended at the St. Louis meeting having been reconsidered, an informal report of the Committee on Publication was presented by Mr. Clarence W. Alvord. This report recommended the publication of a series of Collections and Reprints, and provided that the details be left to a permanent Committee on Publications to be selected by the Executive Committee. The Committee recommended the acceptance of an informal proposition submitted by The Torch Press of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, in reference to the publica-

tion of the proposed series with the provision that the details be arranged by the Secretary upon the best terms obtainable. It was ordered that a Board of Publication, composed of five members, be named by the Executive Committee.

The recommendation of the Historic Sites Committee for the erection of a La Salle monument was approved. The President was then directed to appoint the following committees as recommended by the Secretary:

1. On the Relation of State Historical Societies and Departments of History.
2. On the Teaching of American History both in Elementary and Secondary Schools.
3. On the Establishment of Departments of State History in State Universities.
4. On State History as a Part of the High School Curriculum.
5. On the Administration of Historical Societies.
6. On the Standardization of Historical Society Publications.
7. On State Historical Museums.

After authorizing the President to name a committee of three members to nominate officers for the ensuing year the Association adjourned. At 12:30 P. M. a luncheon was tendered to the members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the members of The State Historical Society of Iowa by Mr. Euclid Sanders in the rooms of the Iowa City Commercial Club.

FIFTH SESSION

The fifth session, which was held on Friday afternoon, May 27, at 2:00 o'clock, was opened with a paper by Mr. Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Illinois on *The Need of a Comprehensive Finding List of Western Manuscripts*. Some discussion, participated in by Mr. Isaac J. Cox, Mr. Albert Watkins, Mr. Edgar R.

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Harlan, Mr. Francis A. Sampson, Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, and Mr. Johnson Brigham, followed the reading of the paper. The next number on the program was an illustrated lecture on the *Effigy Mounds and Mosaics in the Valley of the Mississippi*, presented by Mr. Arlow B. Stout of the University of Wisconsin.

Papers by Mr. James Mooney and Mr. John B. Swanton of the American Bureau of Ethnology on *Aboriginal Population of the Mississippi Valley* and *Indian Names in Historical Documents*, respectively, were read by title owing to the absence of Mr. Mooney and Mr. Swanton.

At the close of the regular program the report of the Auditing Committee was presented by the chairman, Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites. The Committee reported that the accounts and vouchers of the Secretary-Treasurer had been carefully checked and that the same had been found correct, showing a net balance of cash on hand amounting to \$73.61 on May 20, 1910. The report of the Committee was adopted.

The Committee on Resolutions presented the following report:

The committee appointed by President O. G. Libby for the purpose of voicing the appreciation of the visiting members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at the third annual meeting beg leave to submit the following:

We desire to acknowledge our satisfaction at meeting in the halls of the State University of Iowa, where eloquent welcome by President George Edwin MacLean and courteous attention and hospitality alike from faculty and student body have greatly enhanced the charm of the academic atmosphere and of the adequate and commodious surroundings.

We desire to express our deep obligation to the officers and members of The State Historical Society of Iowa for the privilege of meeting jointly with them, for their untiring efforts during past months to insure the success of both meetings, and for the widespread publicity given to our mutual work. In particular would we mention the generous provision of the President, Mr.

Euclid Sanders, for our personal comfort and good cheer, and the energy, skill, and forethought displayed by the Superintendent, Professor Benj. F. Shambaugh, and his assistants to make it a successful gathering.

To the citizens of Iowa City, and to Mr. and Mrs. Arthur J. Cox — most worthy representatives of their courteous hospitality — to the press of this and neighboring Iowa cities, whose spirit is a national asset of no little importance, we desire to reiterate our appreciation for the individual and collective attention and generous publicity which they have given to the third annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and to the meeting of The State Historical Society of Iowa.

Whereas, there have been removed from the activities of this Association General Alfred Orendorff of Illinois and Mr. Harvey Reid of Iowa,

Resolved, That in General Orendorff this Association has lost one of its earliest members and staunchest friends. Alfred Orendorff was born in Logan County, Illinois, in 1848. As a youth he served his country as a soldier in the War between the States. He served in the General Assembly of Illinois, and was Adjutant General from 1892 to 1896. During the last five years of his life he was President of the Illinois State Historical Society and he labored unceasingly to promote its interests. He was a man of affairs, a lawyer, and a banker. He served well and faithfully in every capacity to which he was called, and the cause of western history and this Association has in his death lost a valuable and untiring friend.

Resolved, That in Mr. Harvey Reid the Association has lost one of its prominent members. He was born at Argyle, New York, March 30, 1832, and died at Maquoketa, Jackson County, Iowa, April 25 1910. He was a merchant, a county official, a Union soldier, a patient, competent historical investigator and writer, and a distinguished and delightful companion to all those with whom he was associated.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the families of these our late members.

Whereas, the officials and engineers in charge of the con-

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struction of the Panama Canal have announced that it will be completed and open for commerce in 1915, and

Whereas, practically the unanimous sentiment of the President of the United States and other officials, the members of Congress, and the American people generally is that no celebration of the completion of the Canal can produce such immediate and beneficial results as the holding of an Exposition, where the people of the world will be brought closer together through this union of the Atlantic and Pacific, the East and West, and will meet and confer with each other and exhibit the resources and products of their several countries:

Be It Resolved, That we cordially approve the idea of a World's Panama Exposition and pledge it our moral support and assistance;

Be It Further Resolved, That we see in New Orleans the "logical point" for such Exposition, by reason of its proximity to the Canal and because it is the gateway for a large part of the import and export commerce of these United States with the countries South of us and with the world, easily reached from all points in this continent, North, Central, and South America; and in all respects suited to hold a great World's Exposition; and we therefore endorse New Orleans as the best point at which to hold the World Panama Exposition, in honor of the completion of the Canal.

We suggest that our Executive Committee, having power to act in the matter of the erection of a monument to La Salle, exercise their discretion to coöperate with the appropriate authorities of the proposed Exposition.

Respectfully submitted,

I. J. COX

E. R. HARLAN

JESSIE PALMER WEBER

J. W. ELLIS

JOHN L. WEBSTER

The following resolution relative to the teaching of history and political science was adopted:

1. This Association should take up the various problems in the teaching of history and political science in both *elementary*

and *secondary* schools and attempt their solution by actual test in the schools of the Mississippi Valley.

2. To do this the Association should secure the coöperation of local history teachers' associations and other teachers' organizations, normal schools, high schools, and city superintendents.

3. That proposed methods of procedure, through these coöperating agencies should be put to the actual test of practice under as many different conditions as the means at our command will permit.

4. That results of these tests should be measured, recorded, and compared.

5. That the annual meeting should be made one for a report of progress in these various tests and a discussion of the results.

6. That the work begun on a given problem should be continued through a sufficient period of years to give scientific value to our conclusions.

7. That to make any such plan feasible permanence in direction will be necessary, so that some person responsible for the success of our investigations should continue to direct them for a period of years.

By this plan it is believed that the work of this Association can be made as scientific in the study of methods of teaching as it is in the study of history and the preservation of historical material.

The action of the Executive Committee in selecting Mr. Clarence W. Alvord, Mr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Mr. Isaac Joslin Cox, Mr. Frank H. Hodder, and Mr. Clarence S. Paine as the Publication Committee was approved.

The report of the Committee on Nominations was submitted by Mr. Francis A. Sampson, Chairman. The Committee recommended the election of the following officers for the ensuing year: for President, Mr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh; for Vice President, Mr. Andrew C. McLaughlin; for Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. Clarence S. Paine; for additional members of the Executive Com-

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mittee, Mr. Isaac Joslin Cox and Mr. James A. James. This report was adopted, the rules were suspended, and the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the members present for the election of the officers named. The ballot being cast, the President declared the foregoing elected as officers of the Association for the ensuing year. Thereupon the meeting adjourned.

SIXTH SESSION

The third annual meeting of the Association was concluded with a session on Friday evening, May 27, when two important addresses were presented. *Past and Present Sticking Points in Taxation* was the subject of an address by President Frank L. McVey of the University of North Dakota. This was followed by an address on *The Conservation of Natural Resources* by Mr. W J McGee of the United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. At the conclusion of this address the meeting was formally adjourned.

SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(Shambaugh Home, Iowa City, Iowa, May 27, 1910)

The following persons were present at this session of the Executive Committee: Mr. Orin G. Libby, Mr. Francis A. Sampson, Mr. Charles E. Brown, Mr. Clarence W. Alvord, the Secretary, and Mr. Isaac J. Cox, representing the Ohio Valley Historical Association. The meeting was called to order by President O. G. Libby. After some informal discussion, the President was authorized to appoint a committee of one to coöperate with a representative of the Ohio Valley Historical Association in arranging a program for a joint session to be held in connection with the annual meeting of the American Historical Association.

It was resolved that the Secretary should be reimbursed for the expense of a trip to Chicago, Iowa City,

and Cedar Rapids, on business in connection with the publication of the *Proceedings*.

It was decided to recommend to the Association the reconsideration of the plan of publication endorsed by the Association at St. Louis, and that instead of the proposed Board of Publication, a Publication Committee of five members be appointed by the Executive Committee.

The plan of the Committee on Historic Sites for the erection of a La Salle monument at the mouth of the Mississippi River was endorsed.

SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(Commercial Club Rooms, Iowa City, Iowa, May 27, 1910)

At this session of the Executive Committee, which was held at 1:00 o'clock P. M., on Friday, May 27, there were present the following: Mr. Orin G. Libby, Mr. Charles E. Brown, Mr. Clarence W. Alvord, Mr. Francis A. Sampson, and the Secretary. A Publication Committee as authorized by the Association was selected as follows: Mr. Clarence W. Alvord, Mr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Mr. Isaac Joslin Cox, Mr. Frank H. Hodder, and Mr. Clarence S. Paine.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER
(May, 1910)

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER

(May, 1910)

The widespread interest manifested in the Association during the past year has been highly gratifying. It is evidenced by the large increase in membership, and by the demand from public and college libraries for the two volumes of *Proceedings* which we have been able to publish.

The printing of the first two volumes of *Proceedings* within a period of six months has severely taxed the financial resources of the Association. The preliminary expenses of organization, such as printing, postage, and stenographic work, exhausted the receipts from membership dues during the first two years, so that when we entered upon the printing of the first volume of *Proceedings* we were compelled to do it upon faith in the future and a confidence in the need of such work as this organization was undertaking.

The last annual report showed an overdraft of \$62.03. This was not a very encouraging asset upon which to contract for printing to the amount of \$700.00, especially in the face of a resolution, which was adopted at the Lake Minnetonka meeting, forbidding the Secretary to incur any indebtedness in the publication of the *Proceedings*. However, we were able to publish one thousand copies of the first volume of *Proceedings* and to pay all bills promptly. One thousand copies of the second volume have also been printed, and both volumes have been distributed to all members entitled to receive them. The bill for printing Volume II of the *Proceedings* has just been received and amounts to \$475.00, including postage and wrapping.

It would seem that the Secretary ought to be relieved of the embarrassment occasioned by the Lake Minnetonka resolution, since the annual dues from members now guarantee an amount largely in excess of any debt which might be incurred in the printing of a single volume of *Proceedings*.

The Association has no financial indebtedness at this time; indeed, it is not permitted to have, as previously stated. The bill for printing Volume II will be provided for, until receipts are sufficient for its payment. There is now due from the sale of publications and delinquent annual dues, \$251.00. This amount will be largely increased by dues received from new members, and receipts from the sale of Volumes I and II. After July 1, there will be due approximately \$450.00 in annual dues for the year ending July 1, 1911. It should be remembered that this report covers a period of only eleven months, which have elapsed since the last annual meeting.

The Association at this time has a membership of 453, with representatives in every State and Territory in the Union, except South Carolina and Delaware. We also have members in Canada, Germany, and the Philippine Islands. Illinois leads all the States with seventy-seven members; Iowa is second, with sixty-two; Nebraska third, with forty-six; Missouri, Ohio, and Wisconsin come next in the order named. There are represented in this membership, fifty-six historical societies, fifty-three departments of history, ten State libraries, fifteen State university libraries, forty-five other university and college libraries, and seventy-two public libraries. The present membership can be doubled during the coming year if we have the hearty coöperation of the present members.

The plan of publication which was endorsed by the St. Louis meeting of one year ago has been allowed to lapse through the failure of the Executive Committee to

name the Board of Publication, which was recommended as the first step in the development of this plan. This may be just as well, for the members of the Executive Committee have doubtless given this proposition thought during the past year, and have come to this meeting prepared to offer suggestions for the improvement of the original plan. In lieu of the proposed Board of Publication, President Libby appointed a committee of five to be known as a "Committee on Publications." This committee, composed of Mr. Clarence W. Alvord, Mr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Mr. Isaac Joslin Cox, Mr. Dunbar Rowland, and the Secretary, was instructed to consider the plan of publication proposed at St. Louis. To this committee was also submitted a proposition by Mr. Alvord for the publication of a series of reprints, upon which a report was to be made at this meeting. The committee has had but little time to consider the questions involved but is prepared to report the results of its investigations.

The meeting at St. Louis, while not largely attended, was a decided success. In the work which we are trying to do, it is not always numbers that count most. The arrangements for the meeting, which should have been held in New York City in December in connection with the American Historical Association, were left to the President. The Secretary has received no official report of the misunderstanding which resulted in the cancellation of the plans for the New York meeting.

For the purpose of amending the Constitution, so that the present meeting might be held one month earlier than the usual time, the Executive Committee authorized the calling of a special meeting at Lincoln, Nebraska, January 18, 1910. The call for this meeting was mailed to all members of the Association on January 3rd. The meeting was held on the date named, at 2:30 o'clock P. M.,

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and was well attended, although there was not a large number of the members present.

The proposed amendment to the Constitution was adopted as shown by the minutes, and papers were read by Mr. James Mooney of the Bureau of American Ethnology, and Mr. George W. Martin, Secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society. A paper by Mr. Doane Robinson, Secretary of the South Dakota Historical Society, was read by Mr. William E. Hannan of Lincoln.

No meetings of the Executive Committee have been held during the year; the members, however, have kept in close touch by correspondence, and several important matters have been submitted to the individual members for their consideration, the votes upon which have been recorded.

It is with deep regret that we record the death of General Alfred Orendorff, late of Springfield, Illinois, who passed away October 22, 1909. General Orendorff was President of the Illinois State Historical Society, and one of the earliest members of this Association. We are also called upon to note the death of Mr. Harvey Reid of Maquoketa, Iowa, which occurred on April 25, 1910. Mr. Reid became a member of the Association during the past year, and was a very enthusiastic believer in the future of the organization.

Whatever of success has been attained during the past year is due very largely to the untiring zeal, energy, and enterprise of the Vice President, Mr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, who has edited the two volumes of the *Proceedings*, planned the program, and arranged all the details for this meeting. In the arrangements for this meeting The State Historical Society of Iowa, under the direction of Mr. Shambaugh and his corps of assistants, has set a standard that others would do well to consider when planning to entertain this Association in the future.

What has been said of Mr. Shambaugh might have

been said with equal force of any member of the Executive Committee if the opportunity had been his, and if the responsibility had been placed upon him. The members have performed every duty assigned in a manner which indicates that they are in this Association for the good they may do and not for what they can get.

In an organization with a limited income and no salaried officers, with all labor performed as a purely voluntary service, every active member should be expected and should expect to perform some service for the good of the cause. If the work must all devolve upon two or three individuals, the organization will not accomplish all that it might or should do. There are many lines of inquiry that should be pursued, and the results of such investigations should be published in our *Proceedings*. Under some conditions and in some organizations this might properly be considered as the work of the active officers, but under the circumstances this can hardly be expected.

It is therefore respectfully recommended that provision be made for the appointment of several committees to undertake the investigation of certain subjects in which we are all more or less interested, and that the results of such investigations be reported to the annual meeting. Among the subjects that might be considered with profit are:

1. The Relation of State Historical Societies and Departments of History.
2. The Teaching of American History both in Elementary and Secondary Schools.
3. The Establishment of Departments of State History in State Universities.
4. State History as a Part of the High School Curriculum.
5. The Administration of Historical Societies.

6. The Standardization of Historical Society Publications.

7. State Historical Museums.

Indeed, the list of subjects deserving of special consideration and investigation might be extended indefinitely. The Association at the St. Louis meeting very wisely provided for a Committee on Historic Sites, which although but recently appointed will have a report to present during this meeting.

The Secretary had hoped to be able to bring before the Association at this time some facts regarding the administration of historical societies in the Mississippi Valley, but the information received in response to inquiries was so incomplete and altogether unsatisfactory that the attempt was abandoned until more time could be given to securing the necessary data from original sources.

The thanks of the Association are due to Mr. Shambaugh for his untiring efforts to advance the interests of the Association, and especially for his work as editor of the two volumes of *Proceedings*; also to Messrs. R. B. Donnelly and Sons, of Chicago, for a donation of printing to the value of \$23.00, and to The Torch Press, of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, for a similar gift to the value of \$17.00.

The Association is greatly indebted to The State Historical Society of Iowa, and in a less degree to the Nebraska State Historical Society, for valued assistance in many ways during the past year.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT

Since the foregoing report of the Secretary-Treasurer was prepared the Executive Committee has held one meeting, at which it was voted to recommend to this meeting that the President of this Association be authorized to name a committee of one to coöperate with rep-

representatives of the American Historical Association and the Ohio Valley Historical Association in preparing a program for a joint session at the next annual meeting of the American Historical Association.

It was also voted to recommend that the proposition for the appointment of a Board of Publication, favorably acted upon by the Association at the St. Louis meeting, be reconsidered, and that instead the Executive Committee be authorized to name a Publication Committee of five members with authority to act in all matters concerning the publications of the Association. This action seemed appropriate, since the chief purpose sought to be accomplished by the proposed Board of Publication has been brought about in another way. The Executive Committee has now under consideration a proposition for the publication of a series of Collections and Reprints, which it seems advisable to accept.

It was also recommended that the Secretary be directed to have prepared articles of incorporation, and that in the future the responsibility for printing and such other contracts as may be necessary be borne by the Association.

The following proposition was presented by President Orin G. Libby, Chairman of the Committee on Historic Sites:

Your committee recommends the erection in Louisiana of a monument to La Salle and as a necessary preliminary the organization of a La Salle Memorial Association, incorporated in due form with regular officers and a treasurer who shall give sufficient bond for the safe keeping of all money intrusted to him.

Your committee further recommends the forming of a general (Grand) committee to be in charge of the whole matter, consisting of the Executive Committee of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Historic Sites Committee, and one member from each State in the Mississippi Valley, a prominent State or federal official or the head of the leading educational institution, and in addition the cities of New Orleans, St. Louis,

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and Chicago shall each have one representative. These members of the committee shall be nominated by the members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in each State or city, if any, and approved by the other members of the central or Grand Committee. Other members may be added later by majority vote. The central committee shall effect an organization as speedily as possible and appoint sub-committees on incorporation, on finances, on publicity, and on plans and specifications. The chairman and a majority of these several sub-committees shall also be members of the Grand Committee.

The foregoing proposition was approved by the Executive Committee and recommended to the Association for favorable action.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Receipts

Cash receipts from membership dues and sale of publications from July 1, 1909, to May 20, 1910, as per list attached and made part of this report	\$566.50
Sale of banquet tickets at St. Louis	27.00
	<hr/>
Total receipts	\$593.50

Disbursements

Disbursements to May 20, 1910, as per vouchers attached and made part of this report:	
Overdraft, July 1, 1909	\$ 62.03
Banquet at St. Louis	30.00
Printing Volume I of <i>Proceedings</i>	213.15
Printing stationery, circulars, etc.	57.15
Express	4.91
Postage	75.00
Stenographic work	72.50
Miscellaneous	5.15
	<hr/>
Total disbursements	\$519.89
Balance on hand	\$ 73.61

I submit herewith cash book and vouchers with certified check to the order of the Association for the balance on hand.

Respectfully submitted,
C. S. PAINE, Secretary-Treasurer

**PAPERS AND ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT THE
JANUARY MEETING OF THE MISSIS-
SIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION**

(Lincoln, Nebraska, January 18, 1910)

IN KIOWA CAMPS

BY JAMES MOONEY

I come to this meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association representing the Bureau of American Ethnology, which is a division of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, established by the government for the investigation of the languages, customs, religion, and history of our native Indian tribes. The Bureau was established in 1879 through the efforts of the late Major J. W. Powell, the explorer of the great Colorado Canyon. He was a pioneer in the work. At that time the word "ethnology" was hardly known outside of the dictionary. Nor was there any foundation for such study in the United States. But through the influence of the work of the Bureau the science of ethnology has taken its proper place in this country, and now almost every large university has its chair of anthropology. Furthermore, the work now being done by Americans along such lines compares favorably with that of the best scholars of Europe.

I began the study of the Indians when a boy, several years before the Bureau was established, so that I am now about the oldest working ethnologist in this country. I have been twenty-five years with the Bureau, and have worked with a number of tribes all the way from the Dakotas down to central Mexico. My chief work, however, has been with the tribes of the plains, and more particularly with the Kiowa tribe which is now located in Oklahoma. I spent the greater part of eighteen years with the Kiowa. It was just twenty years ago this month that I made my first visit to them.

I had been working with the Cherokee for several

years and was preparing to visit the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma to collect additional information when the ghost dance began to attract attention, and so I asked permission to look into it among the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes. Permission was given and I made the investigation, going first to the Arapaho. I found it was a very large subject, and the result has been that I have not yet got back to the Cherokee Nation. After looking over the western field I became convinced that as the Indian life in the West was fast passing away I could better afford to let the eastern work wait, as it was in such shape that it could be left, while everything Indian in the West would soon be gone.

I went first to the Cheyenne and Arapaho about Darlington, Oklahoma, to investigate the ghost dance. And from them I went down to the Kiowa, whom I found such a primitive tribe that I decided to make of them a special study. To them I have since given the larger part of my time, although during the same period I have visited other tribes. Like the Indians with whom most of us are familiar, the Kiowa formerly hunted the buffalo, living in tipis, cultivating no ground, and shifting constantly from place to place.

I have a friend in Washington who keeps what is known as a "dairy lunch". On one occasion, on returning from a field trip, I brought with me a large collection of photographs of Indians in costume and at ceremonials. My friend was always eager to know what I was doing; so one day I went around to show him some photographs. Going up to the counter and opening my package, I asked for my friend. His partner, a very deliberate German, said he was not in and would be gone about two days. Having opened my package it did not seem quite proper to close it without giving him a chance to see what I had. I had a number of Indian photographs of a kind that had never been shown in the eastern country, and I offered him

an opportunity to examine them if he wished. I took them up one by one and described them in detail. He looked on without saying anything, but when I had finished he said: "Yes, it is all just so". I felt that I had not made any impression, but this afternoon I feel a pleasure in addressing you because I know that a great many of those present really know it is "all just so", because many of you came to Nebraska when Indians were here, forded rivers on horseback, fought prairie fires, and slept out under the stars.

On my first visit to the Kiowa they were all down in their winter camp near the agency at Anadarko, in what is now western Oklahoma. The agency had an agency building, a blacksmith shop, a school house, one or two resident missionaries, and a few other employees — perhaps fifty in all. Thirty-five miles southwest was Fort Sill, with a garrison near what is now Lawton. The reservation consisted of 3,000,000 acres with no other settlement within eighty miles. Adjoining it on the north were the Cheyenne and Arapaho; and on the northeast was the reservation of the Caddo, Wichita, and some other tribes. Altogether about eight million acres were occupied by different tribes of Indians, numbering in all about seven thousand, with not more than two hundred white people in the whole country. The nearest railroad was the Rock Island; and its nearest point to the agency was about twenty-five miles distant, and about sixty miles from Fort Sill. One had to go first to the agency and from there to such places as one wanted to reach.

The Indians received rations on certain days, the government being under agreement to give them rations and other supplies for a term of thirty years from 1868. These rations consisted chiefly of beef, flour, and coffee — with sugar and some incidentals. The beef animals were issued to them alive and out in the open, and the Indians had to ride them down and shoot them.

At that time the Indians lived in tipis, but now they dwell for the most part in houses. In the summer time they camped out on the high ground, where the wind had a clear sweep, in order to get away from the mosquitos; in winter they moved down by the agency and camped in the bottoms where the timber and the bluffs on each side would break the force of the wind and where water could be conveniently obtained. They came down about the end of November and usually moved back to the mountains about the middle of February.

I came into the agency after dark. The stopping place was a little stockade building of logs, set upright in the ground, with the sign "City Hotel" in front. Several men were waiting for supper. Shortly after I came in to the table and sat down three cowboys came in, unbuttoned their belts and hung their revolvers over the backs of their chairs and called for supper. It has been a long time now since such things have been seen in that region. At that place, now occupied by the town of Anadarko, there are 4,000 people, three railroads, electric light and ice plants, besides railroads in every direction through the former reservation, and several towns ranging in population from six to eight thousand, as well as small settlements and the general rural population.

I was told of a competent interpreter who was locally known as Andali. His proper name was Andres, but the Kiowa language does not have the sound of "R", so they had to make it "L". He was the agency blacksmith. When he was seven years old, Andres, together with his cousin of about the same age, had been taken captive by the Mescaleros in one of the last raids made by the Indians upon the New Mexican frontier. The cousin was killed, and in the course of a few months Andres was sold for adoption to the Kiowa. His capture was rather romantic, and I shall give a little account of it in order to illustrate something of the fate of Indian captives. When I

went there I found thirty-two captives, who had been taken by the Indians, besides their children and grandchildren. It would be a safe estimate to say that in the tribe of about twelve hundred Kiowa there are at least three hundred who are nearly one-half of captive blood.

The Kiowa, as some of us know, were a predatory tribe, constantly making raids into Texas, New Mexico, and Mexico. As a rule they were on friendly terms with the New Mexicans, but foraged upon old Mexico. Being more tractable and industrious than the native Indian, these Mexican captives were considered a desirable acquisition. They had a certain amount of skill with the horse that the Indian himself did not have; and besides they had a little more judgment. In these raids the Indian usually killed the older people if it came to a fight, but they tried to save the children who were taken away as captives. This is what happened in the case of Andres.

Now there was a young girl in the Kiowa tribe, whom I afterwards met as a woman. She, it seems, had asked her father when he was about to go down into Mexico to bring her a white captive boy for a pet. This Kiowa war party met the Mescaleros who had Andres. The Kiowa man wanted to buy him, but the Mescaleros refused to sell him. After some negotiations the Kiowa said: "There are more of us than there are of you. If you will not give him up peaceably we will take him anyhow." So they struck a bargain. At one time I was in camp with him when some of the older Indians told how many blankets and extras they paid for him — facts he was much interested to learn. His new Kiowa master dressed him in a suit of buckskin, and Andali was thenceforth treated as a member of that Indian family. While he was among the Mescaleros he had been abused. They were very brutal to him, and they had killed his cousin; but with the Kiowa he was counted as a member of the family, especially by the young woman who had adopted him.

He was, however, frequently called upon to prove himself with the rest of the tribe.

After he had been with them several years the Indians were put upon the reservation under a treaty which had been made with them. They did not go willingly, but had to be compelled to go by Custer and Sheridan in the campaign of 1868, of which the most notable engagement was the Battle of the Washita. After a regular post-office had been established at the agency, Andali with some Indians happened to be there one day when the mail came in. He saw them handing out letters. Now Andali had been with the tribe twenty-one years and could speak only the Kiowa language, having forgotten his own language and his own name (Martinez). He had been taken from the immediate neighborhood of Las Vegas, New Mexico. He went with the interpreter to the agency doctor and asked what the white men were going to do with all those pieces of paper they were taking away. The doctor explained to him that by means of those papers the white man could talk with his friends a long distance away. Andali was interested and asked if he could speak with his friends in that way. The doctor said: "Are not your friends right here?" Andali answered and said: "No, I am not an Indian." Thereupon the doctor was interested and began asking him questions. Andali told the doctor as much as he knew of his being taken with his cousin by the Indians while they were carrying dinner to some Mexican herdsmen out in the country near Las Vegas; how his cousin was killed; and how he was kept and afterwards sold to the Kiowa. He remembered the name Las Vegas, but did not know his family name or his own given name; but as he had always refused to answer to the name which the Indians had given him, they had finally had to call him Andali (their attempt at Andres). This gave a clue to his friends.

The doctor wrote a letter to the postmaster at Las

Vegas, telling of the circumstances and asked him if he could get on the track of the family. He wrote letters without success for over two years, until at last from Colorado came a letter from Andali's brother. After some correspondence two of his brothers came after him and took him back to New Mexico. He was there three years to relearn his language and get acquainted with civilization. Then he came back to the agency. When I first met him he was the agency blacksmith, speaking the Kiowa, Comanche, and Spanish languages, and some English.

The Kiowa I lived with had been one of the hostiles at the outbreak of the southern Plains tribes in 1874, and with other hostiles had been a prisoner of war for three years in Florida. He had afterwards gone to school in New York and Pennsylvania, so that he knew English fairly well. His father-in-law was one of the old war chiefs, but had been one of the peace advocates during the outbreak since he felt it to be his duty to do whatever Washington wanted done. I told them that I was sent by Washington to learn the ways of the Kiowa. His son-in-law was a good man, and his wife was one of the best and kindest women I have ever known. They had a little girl about five years old who became quite a pet of mine. They took me into their family; and for some years I spent the larger part of the time in various camps with that family — in winter near the agency; during the summer in the mountains.

The old man's Kiowa name was Gaapiatan, which means "The man who strikes with a feathered lance." He was more commonly called by his Comanche name Hait-siki, which has the same meaning. The fact that he had a Comanche as well as a Kiowa name meant that he had a reputation outside of his own tribe. I heard his wife's name once only while I was with them. They seldom address each other by their personal names. With some

tribes it is a matter of religion not to address any one by his name, but to approach it in some roundabout way. Indeed, there is a whole world of custom in regard to Indian names.

There was in this family, of which I am speaking, the old man and his wife, three married daughters, an unmarried son, and children — altogether a family of sixteen, besides myself. As I have said, I was counted as a member of the family; and the old man very soon formed the habit of calling me his son, while his son-in-law would speak of me as his brother. I was never adopted into the family. There has been a great deal of sensational nonsense written about adoption into Indian tribes. I have heard of men sitting naked upon ant hills, and taking scalps, and boring holes in their ears in order to be counted as members of the tribe. Such statements make very good magazine material; but it is not necessary to engage in any such foolishness. If you prove yourself a friend the Indians will regard you as belonging to them and will treat you accordingly.

The youngest of the three daughters was the wife of the Florida prisoner; and because he took me under his special charge she made me her particular care. Of the older sisters, one of them was the wife of a man who also lived with us and with whom I afterwards lived. His name was Gunaoi in the Kiowa language, meaning in English "Many Tipi Poles". The third woman had two children — a little boy and a girl — and was his divorced wife. The Kiowa are polygamists, and one man frequently marries two sisters. This man had married the older sister; and when he afterward married the younger one, the first became angry and left him by moving over to the other side of the fire.

At meal time we were all together in one tipi. The Kiowa tipi is like that of the other Plains tribes, except that some are set up with four main upright poles while

the Kiowa tipi is set up with three poles of about twenty-five feet in length, with about nineteen to twenty other poles leaned against them, making a circle of about twenty feet diameter with the fire hole in the center. The dressed skin or canvas cover is brought around on the outside of the poles and fastened by means of a row of wooden pins down the front, with a circle of pegs at the bottom to hold it to the ground. At the top there are two flaps, which can be adjusted by means of ropes so as to break the force of the wind and in order that the smoke may not pour down through the smoke hole.

On the inside the tipi is usually arranged with one bed on the south, one on the north, and one on the west. The doorway is always on the east, facing the rising sun. Very often in an Indian camp on a dark night when I wanted to get my bearings, I felt around the tipi until I found the door, and then I knew that was the east side. The west seat inside the tipi is considered the place of honor. The guest for whom they have respect is usually asked to sit there — and I think what I may say in this matter will apply to every Plains tribe from Dakota south. The regular bed of the Plains Indians is a platform raised about a foot from the ground, and consists of a framework of willows cut about four feet long, covered with blankets or buffalo robes. It is a seat in the daytime, a bed at night, and can accommodate two or three persons. We had three beds in each tipi, which is the usual number in well established families. When traveling they do not use the platform, but make the beds of willow or cottonwood branches over which blankets are thrown — an arrangement which is much more convenient.

Under the treaty made in 1867 the Indians received rations of beef, flour, and coffee, issued every other Friday, together with sugar and other extras issued at irregular intervals. The beef when issued was apportioned out, so many animals to each tribe, according to the number of

the tribe. They were turned loose; and at a signal the Indians rode after them in the style of the old time buffalo hunt. Each Indian went after the animal he picked out as his own. Sometimes he would bring it down at the first shot; sometimes he would chase the animal for several miles; and again it might get away altogether and escape in the timber.

As soon as the animal was dead, the women skinned it, cut it up, and "jerked" the beef by cutting it into thin slices and drying it on a platform in the sun. About one day of good weather was enough to dry it so that it would keep for an indefinite period without spoiling. The tallow was sliced off in flakes. The liver was usually eaten raw as soon as the animal was killed. Immediately after the beef was shot one might see women and children, and occasionally men, walking about eating pieces of raw liver, with the blood running from their mouths. I never ate any raw liver, but I am told that it is very good. My Mexican interpreter, who had lost considerable of his Indian habits, several times said to me: "Now, if I not a white man, I sure like liver."

The flour was worked up into a cake and baked in a pan over a bed of coals. The fire was made in a firehole in the center of the tipi. The sticks of wood were pushed in endways. When the stick burned out it was shoved up forward, and in that way the fire was kept hot all day. In the morning the women start the fire from the coals under the ashes; and then they go to the river and get a bucket or two of water. In very cold weather they would have to break the ice to get what water they wanted. They always had warm water in a basin ready for me when I got up.

There was no such thing as undressing and going to bed in the regular way. One simply took off his shoes. I was in the habit of going to Fort Sill about once in every two weeks so that I could clean up. In the meantime one

would get to feeling pretty greasy, and would sometimes think that he could never again get the dirt all off. The Indians did the very best they knew to make me comfortable, and I can truthfully say that I have never had kinder treatment than in an Indian camp.

The jerked beef was usually cooked in water in which salt had been dissolved. Salt was not a regular ration, but was usually obtained from a salt creek on the Texas border where it was taken out and crushed by the Indians. Later however, it was made a part of the government ration. Jerked beef cooked in salted water, and flour cakes — baked on a pan like a flapjack — with black coffee constituted the regular meal. This was satisfactory as long as we had the supplies, but our rations would often run short. The beef, which was issued every two weeks, was usually exhausted at about the end of the fifth day, and after that we had to get along on flour, coffee, and hard tack. Sometimes we would get down to hard-tack without the coffee; and sometimes a little less than that. So it happened that we were very often hungry.

Sometimes I would make a trip to the army post, and bring home some beef. But I soon found that this afforded but little relief. We had to go fifteen miles in a wagon, which took nearly a whole day. We would start home the next afternoon. When we reached the first Kiowa camp the Indians, having observed the meat, would hitch up their wagons and follow us. The same thing would happen at the next camp; and by the time we got home we would have fifty or a hundred Indians ready to eat up the beef that we bought at Fort Sill.

In the winter camp there was very little work to be done. The men and women spent most of their time with amusements; and I do not believe there ever were any happier people. I am not here to advocate their mode of life, because I have seen both sides of it. They were very free from care; but often they were in want and hunger.

Indeed, they were hungry most of the time. They never thought of the next day or the day after that. They never had so many cares that they could not laugh. At night the regular thing in most of the tipis was a hand game, as they called it, which is a sort of hunt-the-button game. They would divide into two sides, sit down in a circle, and play against each other. One player would have the "button", and the game was to pass it from hand to hand among those on one side while those on the other side tried to guess who had it. When one guessed right, his side was given a score of a certain number of tallies. While playing the Indians sang songs to keep time with the movements of their hands; and they put their whole spirit into the game. Some of the songs had a meaning and some had no meaning, being sung simply to occupy the attention of the other side while the singers were hiding the button. When the players on the other side got the button they would start another and different song. The women played and always sang in a high key. Coming into the winter camp at night it was very pleasant to hear Indians singing in this way, as there would almost always be a hand game going on in some tipi.

In other tipis one would perhaps hear a man shaking the rattle, or one or two old men singing songs and telling stories. After dark, with the light of the fire shining through the tipi and the singing in every direction, the Kiowa camp was very interesting.

In the warm afternoons the women would bring their work outside the tipis and have a social time together. With the children playing around they would sit on the sunny side of the tipi, working on their beaded moccasins. The young men would often carry on a game of throwing arrows at a target; and the girls had a football game, where the effort was not to send the ball a long distance but to keep it in the air as long as possible. They also engaged in shinny and other games. These games would

often continue until night, when the indoor games would begin. Lullabies were sung to the children. There was hardly ever any quarreling.

Toward the end of February the Indians would break camp and go back to the Wichita Mountains, about forty miles out from the agency. I remember the first time this happened when I was among them. While we were eating breakfast the women on the outside began taking down the cover of the tipi and the poles; and before we were through eating the tipi was down and rolled up ready to be loaded into the wagon.

My old man had been a chief and leading warrior. He had the finest Indian dress I have ever seen — a full suit of buckskin, a war bonnet with a trail of eagle feathers, a peculiar headdress with twelve arrow points representing the tail of a hawk, and a shield which had upon it representations of various kinds of birds which were his protecting spirits. He had also a lance which was about sixteen feet long, with a steel blade longer than the ordinary bayonet. He had a fine white pony which he painted with certain symbolic designs. He painted his own face within a red circle. His protecting spirits were ten different species of birds, which were painted in different colors upon his tipi. On one occasion when he had his whole outfit with him I proposed to take his picture. He agreed and dressed for the occasion. After taking the picture I put the slide down on the ground and proceeded to close up the camera. When I turned around I found that another Indian had opened the slide to see the picture. When I got to Washington I found that I was without a picture of my Indian.

Some time after that an epidemic came to our tribe and more than two hundred died — among others the son of the old man with whom I lived. Before this I had tried to buy the old man's shield, but he said: "I have given it to my son. It is his, and if he wants to sell it he may;

but if he does he sells his father's life''. The young man came to me afterward and said: "I cannot sell my father's life''. Now, when the son died the shield, lance, bow and quiver, buckskin dress, and war bonnet were all put down into the grave; the wagon and harness were taken to pieces and burned; and the horses were shot over the grave.

In the summer time I went from camp to camp, visiting and observing ceremonies. Of course, during all this time I was taking down a vocabulary and making collections. A large part of each day was spent in writing and in making pictures. At first I always had an interpreter, but later I was able to make my way alone.

As to the ceremonies I shall not have time to speak of more than one — the Peyote ceremony. The Peyote (improperly called Mescal) is a small cactus of about the size of a radish. The top is sliced off and dried, and when eaten produces a certain exhilaration of the imagination. The Indians ascribe to it not only medical but also mystical virtues. I found afterward that this same plant is used in nearly the same way by other tribes as far south as central Mexico. Efforts have been made to prevent its use among the southern Plains tribes, but instead of being stamped out its use has spread to the north among the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Sioux, and others.

It was part of my business to study this Peyote ceremony. It is not a dance, as are most of the Indian ceremonies. Those who take part are all men. They go into the tipi about nine o'clock at night. After dressing and painting and building a peculiarly shaped crescent mound around the fire, they sit down in a circle. The leader takes the drum, his nearest partner the rattle, and they sing the opening song. After a while the peyote is passed around, four to each man. Each man takes one and chews it for a while. Then takes it out of his mouth, rolls it into a ball and swallows it. Each man consumes

four in the same way. Then they begin again to sing, all the songs having reference to the peyote or to the visions which they see. This they continue until midnight, when they perform a ceremony very much like baptism. One man goes out and gets a bucket of water from the nearest spring, comes back and goes around the tipi, on the outside, four times, and at each round imitates the cry of the eagle. He then goes inside. After prayer the leader dips a feather into the water and sprinkles the performers. Then they take up the song again. Toward morning they sing a song which is a signal for the women and children to bring in something to eat. Each man eats a little of four kinds of food, and then they go on singing until the middle of the morning, when they close with a final song.

I have frequently been with the Kiowa during this ceremony. It is beautiful to witness, but very fatiguing to observe, as it lasts from nine o'clock at night until about the same hour the next morning. Throughout the participants sit on the ground without stirring. It is permissible to go out for a time after the baptismal ceremony and come in again, but the real devotees do not stir. I shall sing you one of the Peyote songs, which are all of a lullaby character, intended to bring about a dreamy condition in which the performer may be able to see visions. This, the daylight song, is one which they sing when they see the sun rise and is the signal to the women to get ready the food. The men have been sitting in a half-doze all night, only waking up to full life to take their parts in turn; but at the daylight song every one straightens up and the effect is very impressive.

THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA BOUNDARY LINE

BY GEORGE W. MARTIN

By the Act of Congress of May 30, 1854, the fortieth parallel of north latitude was made the boundary line between the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas. It seems that in the beginning the Missourians wanted the Platte River, but Hadley D. Johnson, representing more southerly interests, insisted upon the fortieth parallel. There were no surveys then and there was no controversy about any portion of the lines. Neither was there any hundred dollar an acre land; and so Congress acted like the man who sold a quarter section, and while the buyer was not looking slipped into the deed another quarter to get rid of it.

Nebraska extended north to the British line, and on the west took in a part of Colorado, the two Dakotas, and Montana and Wyoming. Kansas extended to the summit of the Rocky Mountains, a few miles beyond the present city of Leadville. Immediately upon the passage of the Nebraska-Kansas Act, John Calhoun was made surveyor general of Nebraska and Kansas. A contract was made with John P. Johnson to establish this boundary line. It was concluded to make it the principal base line upon which to start the survey, both on the north in Nebraska and on the south in Kansas. The fortieth parallel was astronomically established in 1854 by Captain T. J. Lee, United States Topographical Engineer. The survey was started on the 18th of November, 1854, and the party were eighteen days running west one hundred and eighteen miles. When the Missouri River was closed to northern immigration in 1856, Nebraska City was a port of entry for Kansas.

There is an incident relating to the northern boundary line of the State of Kansas scarcely known in her history; but in the history of the twin State of Nebraska it constitutes a very important chapter. On January 17, 1856, J. Sterling Morton introduced in the lower house of the Territorial legislature of Nebraska a resolution memorializing Congress to annex to Kansas all that portion of Nebraska south of the Platte River because it would be "to the interests of this Territory and the general good of the entire Union." It was stated that the Platte River was a natural boundary mark and that it was impossible either to ford, ferry, or bridge it; and it was further thought that such a move would effectually prevent the establishment of slavery in either of the Territories. Morton's resolution was postponed by a vote of twenty to five. The project slumbered until 1858. There was great bitterness between northern and southern Nebraska at that time and the annexation sentiment seemed to grow.

In those days Nebraska had other troubles than the unreliability of the Platte River. Kansas was torn to pieces by a great national issue, and our Republican-Populist war of 1893 had a precedent for ridiculousness in the controversy which divided the pioneers of Nebraska from 1855 to 1858. Florence, Omaha, Plattsmouth, Bellevue, and Nebraska City were contestants for the Territorial capital. The story reads like a southwest Kansas county-seat fight. The first legislature was called at Omaha, January 16, 1855. Omaha was full of people interested in rival towns, who made threats that the session should not be held. In January, 1857, the antagonism to Omaha assumed an aggressive character. A bill passed both houses of the legislature, moving the session to a place called Douglas in Lancaster County. This bill was vetoed by the Governor. In 1858 a portion of the legislature seceded in a small riot, without bloodshed, and at-

tempted to do business at a town called Florence. On September 21, 1858, the fifth session met in peace at Omaha, and began to talk about bridging the Platte. Restlessness was common then, for the Kansas Territorial legislature was also hard to please. The pro-slavery people left Pawnee to sit in Shawnee Mission, and the Free Soilers would not remain at Lecompton, but in 1858, 1859, 1860, and 1861 moved to Lawrence.

About the beginning of the year 1859, several mass meetings were held, and Congress was memorialized to incorporate the South Platte country in the proposed State of Kansas. There was some dissent, of course, but the annexationists seem to have been quite lively. On the 2nd of May a mass meeting was held at Nebraska City, which invited the people to participate in the formation of a constitution at Wyandotte on July 5, reciting "that the pestiferous Platte should be the northern boundary of a great agricultural and commercial State." They ordained that an election should be held in the several South Platte counties on June 7. There are no results of the election given, but Morton's *History of Nebraska* (page 403, Volume II) says that in the county of Otoe of 1078 ballots cast at a previous election 900 electors signed a petition for annexation, and that this sentiment was representative of the whole South Platte district. Governor Medary's son and private secretary, on the 16th of May, 1859, had written a letter to the Nebraska people, urging them to elect delegates to the Wyandotte convention, and to proceed quietly, "as it would only create an unnecessary issue in southern Kansas at the time, were it freely talked of."

On the 12th day of July, 1859, the following Nebraska men were admitted to seats on the floor of the Wyandotte constitutional convention as honorary members, with the privilege of participating in the discussion of the northern boundary of the State of Kansas, but without a vote:

Stephen F. Nuckolls, Mills S. Reeves, Robert W. Furnas, Obadiah B. Hewett, W. W. Keeling, Samuel A. Chambers, Wm. H. Taylor, Stephen B. Miles, John H. Croxton, John H. Cheever, John B. Bennett, and Jacob Dawson. In the archives of the State Historical Society we find the original application of the Nebraska people signed by Mills S. Reeves, John B. Bennett, Wm. H. Taylor, Samuel A. Chambers, and Stephen B. Miles.

On the 15th of July the Nebraska delegates were heard, and on the 16th during the consideration of the western boundary line of the State of Kansas, William C. McDowell of Leavenworth, a Democratic member, moved the following amendment:

Provided however, that if the people of southern Nebraska embraced between the Platte river and the northern boundary of Kansas, as established by Congress, agree to the same, a vote is to be taken by them both upon the question of boundary and upon this constitution, at the time this constitution is submitted to the people of Kansas, and provided Congress agree to the same, the boundaries of the State of Kansas shall be as follows: "beginning at a point on the western boundary of the State of Missouri where the thirty-seventh parallel of north latitude crosses the same; thence west with said parallel to the twenty-fourth meridian of longitude west from Washington; thence north with said meridian to the middle of the south fork of the Platte river; thence following the main channel of said river to the middle of the Missouri river; thence with the middle of the Missouri river to the mouth of the Kansas river; thence south on the western boundary line of the State of Missouri to the place of beginning."

After a short parliamentary wrangle about separating the north and west lines, the convention voted that the northern boundary remain unchanged.

The *Nebraska City News*, the organ of the South Platte sentiment, was furious over the result. The following is quoted from the *News*:

The curious may wish to know why this rich boon was re-

fused by the Black Republican constitutional convention of Kansas. It was for this reason: its acquisition, it was believed by those worthies would operate against their party. They said the South Platte Nebraska was democratic, and that being added to northern Kansas would make Kansas a democratic state; would deprive the Black Republican party of two United States Senators, a congressman and other offices. They were dragooned into this position too by the Republican party outside of Kansas. Kansas, they are determined at all hazards, shall be an abolition state.

It was a great deal amid the sentiment and passion of that hour to ask the Free Soilers in the Wyandotte convention, following the struggles of the border as far south as Fort Scott from 1855 to 1860, to go back on the people south of the Kaw for an unknown quantity in southern Nebraska. The delegates from Nebraska offered great things in a material way, but politics cropped out everywhere, principally from outside of Kansas. There was no politics then but the slavery issue. Solon O. Thatcher spoke as follows:

Chief among their arguments was one meeting an objection which they supposed would be raised in consequence of the political character of the country proposed to be annexed; and we have been invoked by all the powers of logic and rhetoric to ignore the political aspect of the case — to lay aside whatever feelings might arise politically, and look at the question dispassionately. Now, sir, I say they urge an impossibility. Had these gentlemen from southern Nebraska seen the sky lurid with flames of their burning homes, the soil of their beautiful prairies crimson with the blood of their brothers and fathers, or their wives and children flying over the land for a place of refuge from crime and outrage . . . they would not think of making such an appeal to us. . . . Gentlemen must remember that this is the first time in the history of Kansas that Southern Kansas has been represented in any deliberative body. Think you sir, that the people who have just escaped from the prison house that has kept them so long, can desire to re-enter the clammy dungeon.

I have carefully looked through the files of several of the Kansas newspapers of that period and I find a singular indifference to the question of annexation. The *Topeka Tribune* and the *Leavenworth Herald* very freely supported it. The *Lawrence Republican*, T. Dwight Thatcher's paper, was strongly opposed to it. There was little else considered then aside from slavery. The *Leecompton Democrat* favored the dismemberment of both Kansas and Nebraska and the formation of a new State lying between Kansas and the Platte rivers. The *Republican* said that this was hatched in Washington and nursed in the Blue Lodges of Missouri. Annexation would make southern Kansas a mere appendage to the north and completely at its mercy. The editor of the *Republican* made a visit to southeastern Kansas and reported unanimous opposition to the movement. The people there neither cared nor knew the politics of the Nebraska men. A portion of the Nebraska movement was to make another State south of the Kansas River to be called Neosho. In a speech before the convention, Solon O. Thatcher said that three-fifths of the population of Kansas was south of the Kansas River. The Platte gave no river frontage and would need an appropriation every year to make it navigable by catfish and polliwogs, and the movement would give Kansas four additional Missouri River counties north of the Kansas River, which would not be desirable. A singular feature is that the Free Soil legislature of 1859 petitioned for annexation, while Free Soilers in the constitutional convention bitterly opposed it. The *Lawrence Republican* is the only paper that handled the subject with vigor. I quote as follows:

The proposed measure if accomplished, would destroy the community of interest which now exists between the various portions of Kansas. Our people are bound together as the people of no other new state ever were. Together they have gone through one of the darkest and bloodiest struggles for freedom

that any people ever encountered; together they have achieved the most significant and far-reaching victory since the Revolution; together they have suffered — together triumphed! At this late day, after the battle has been fought and won, and we are about to enter upon the enjoyment of the fruits of our perilous labors, we do not care to have introduced into our household a set of strangers who have had no community or interest with us in the past, who have hardly granted us the poor boon of their sympathy, and who even now speak of the thrice honored and loved name of Kansas as a "name which is but the synonym of crime and blood!"¹

On the 23rd of July, McDowell renewed the subject in the Wyandotte convention by the following resolution:

Resolved that Congress be memorialized to include within the limits of the state of Kansas, that part of southern Nebraska lying between the northern boundary of the Territory of Kansas and the Platte river.

This resolution was defeated on the same day by a vote of nineteen for and twenty-nine against. The Democrats refused to sign the constitution, and of those who did sign, four (S. D. Houston, J. A. Middleton, L. B. Palmer, and R. J. Porter) voted to annex the South Platte country.

Senator Green of Missouri, in opposing the admission of Kansas under the Wyandotte constitution, said that not over two-sevenths of Kansas could be cultivated, that "without this addition (South Nebraska) Kansas must be weak, peurile, sickly, in debt and at no time capable of sustaining herself."

In the United States Senate on January 18, 1861, he moved to strike out the proposed boundaries of Kansas and insert the following:

Beginning in the main channel of the North Fork of the Platte river at a point where the twenty-fifth meridian of longitude west from Washington crosses the same; thence down and along said channel to its junction with the main stream of the

¹ Extract from a Nebraska City paper.

Platte; thence down and along the main channel of the Platte to the Missouri river; thence south along said river and the western boundary of the State of Missouri to the northern boundary of the Cherokee neutral land; thence west along said northern boundary the northern [southern] boundary of the Osage lands, and the prolongation of the same, to the twenty-fifth meridian of longitude west of Washington; thence north on said meridian to the place of beginning.

This was defeated by a vote of twenty-three yeas to thirty-one nays, the greater number of the yeas being those who opposed the admission of Kansas under any circumstances. In support of this proposition Senator Green said:

It will be observed by an examination of the constitution adopted at Wyandotte, now pending before the Senate, that about one-third of the Territory of Kansas is cut off on the west. That includes the Pike's Peak region, where the first gold discovery was made, including the Gregory mines, and so on, cutting off that space of territory, which none of the other constitutions ever did. Owing to the character of the country, that reduces it to a small compass to constitute a good state. The gross area is about eighty thousand square miles; but the portion susceptible of settlement and habitation will not exceed forty thousand; and the best authority I have reduces it to thirty thousand out of eighty thousand square miles. After we pass west of the Missouri river, except upon a few streams, there is no territory fit for settlement or habitation. It is unproductive. It is like a barren waste. It will not even support cattle or sheep, or anything pertaining to the grazing business. There are no mineral resources in the State to supply any want of agricultural resources. Hence I propose to enlarge the boundary, not upon the west, but to take the present western boundary and prolong it northerly up to the Platte river; and then follow the line of the river to its junction with the Missouri line, and follow the Missouri line down. It will add to the Territory about thirty thousand square miles, about two-thirds of which will be susceptible of settlement. It will then make a good, strong, substantial State. I have the privilege to state, in this

connection, that nine-tenths of the people south of the Platte, in what is now called Nebraska, desire this annexation to Kansas.

In the further discussion of the bill for admission, Stephen A. Douglas, on January 19, 1861, summed up the trouble as follows:

There is no necessity for delaying this bill as it would be delayed by the adoption of the amendment. The Senator from Missouri well knows that this Kansas question has been here for years, and no consideration on earth could suffice to stop it in this body three years ago, when it came under the Lecompton constitution. It was not stopped then to be amended for the want of judiciary or any other clauses; but it was forced through. We are told first, that Kansas must be kept out because her northern boundary is not right, when it is the same now as it was then; next, that she must be kept out because the southern boundary is not right, though it is the same now as it was then; again, she must be kept out because of the Indian treaties, though the same objection existed then as now; again, she must be kept out because she has not population enough, though she has three times as many people as were there then; and, finally, this bill must be delayed now because it does not contain a judiciary clause. I do not understand why these constant objections are being interposed to the admission of Kansas now, when none of them were presented in regard to the Lecompton constitution, three years ago, nor in regard to the admission of Oregon, which has since taken place. It seems to me that the fate of Kansas is a hard one; and it is necessary for these Senators to explain why they make the distinction in their action between Kansas and Oregon, instead of my explaining why I do not make distinction between them.

On July 22, 1882, a reunion of the members of the constitutional convention was held at Wyandotte. Benjamin F. Simpson and John A. Martin made speeches. Martin was secretary of the convention, and afterwards served as Colonel of the Eighth Kansas, and two times as Governor of the State. He said in his address that two influences induced the decision against the South Platte — one political and the other local and material. Many Re-

publicans feared that the South Platte country was, or would be likely to become, Democratic. Lawrence and Topeka both aspired to be the State capital, and their influence was against annexation because they feared it would throw the center of population far north of the Kaw. On this point I quote the following:

Each party, I think, was guilty of one blunder it afterwards seriously regretted — the Republicans in refusing to include the South Platte country, within the boundaries of Kansas; the Democrats in refusing to sign the constitution they had labored diligently to perfect. I speak of what I consider the great mistake of the Republicans with all the more frankness because I was, at that time, in hearty sympathy with their action; but I feel confident that no Republican member is living today who does not deplore that decision. And I am equally confident that within a brief time after the convention adjourned, there were few Democratic members who did not seriously regret refusal to sign the constitution.

I think that the judgment of the people to-day would be that the convention did very well, that for homogeneity of people and interests the boundary lines of Kansas encompass, encircle, surround and hold more contentment and happiness than any other equal extent of territory. Imagine a northern boundary line as crooked as the Platte River, and a southern boundary as crooked as the Kansas and Smoky Hill. Imagine what an unwieldy and incongruous lot of people and territory there would be from the Platte to the southern line of Kansas, and from the Missouri River to the summit of the Rocky Mountains. Fifty years of development and history show that the convention made the State just right. Furthermore we have never heard of any unsatisfactory results from the shape of Nebraska, nor of any failure on the part of Nebraska people to manage the Platte River. I think that the Wyandotte convention, after fifty years, is entitled to the plaudit, "Well done, good and faithful servants."

When we recall that Kansas is one of but twelve States in the Union that have lived under one constitution for fifty years, the Wyandotte convention surely has this approbation. The following States have had their present constitutions for fifty years or more, barring amendments from time to time submitted to the people: Connecticut (1818), Delaware (1831), Indiana (1851), Iowa (1857), Kansas (1859), Maine (1819), Massachusetts (1820), Minnesota (1857), Ohio (1851), Oregon (1857), Rhode Island (1842), and Wisconsin (1848). In practically all of these there has been agitation looking toward constitutional revision, and in some instances constitutional conventions have met and revised the constitutions, but the revision has been rejected by the people. For nearly two hundred years Rhode Island did business under her Charter, obtained from Charles II in 1663, and it was not until September, 1842, that a constitutional convention met and framed a constitution, which was ratified by the people of that State.

Of the members of the Wyandotte convention there still remain with us: John T. Burris of Olathe, aged eighty-one years; Benjamin F. Simpson of Paola, aged seventy-three years; C. B. McClellan of Oskaloosa, aged eighty-seven years; Samuel E. Hoffman, St. Louis, Missouri, aged seventy-five years, and James H. Signor of Dannemora, New York, aged seventy-seven years. Their work was adopted by the people of the Territory on October 4, 1859, by a vote of 10,421 for and 5,530 against.

In 1855 the Territorial legislature of Kansas was in session at Shawnee Mission, only six miles from the present center of Kansas City, Missouri, and the Missouri legislature was in session at Jefferson City. In a sketch of Kansas City, Missouri, published by Judge H. C. McDougall in 1898, he says:

As one of the many evidences of the fatherly interest which the citizens of Missouri then had in the young Territory of

Kansas, it may be noted in passing that Hon. Mobillion W. McGee, a citizen of this State who then resided where Dr. J. Feld now lives, out at Westport, was a distinguished, and no doubt useful, member of the Territorial legislature at Shawnee Mission. It would have been greatly to the interest of the pro-slavery party in Kansas to get Kansas City into that territory. The Missouri statesmen were then anxious to further the ends of their pro-slavery brethren in Kansas and Col. Robert T. Van Horn, and a then distinguished citizen of the Territory of Kansas (whose name I cannot mention because for thirty years he and his family have been warm personal friends of mine), agreed that it would be a good thing all around to detach Kansas City from Missouri and attach it to Kansas Territory. Hence, after visiting and conferring with the legislatures of Missouri and Kansas Territory, and being thoroughly satisfied that the Kansas Territorial legislature would ask and the Missouri legislature grant a cession upon the part of the latter to the former of all that territory lying west and north of the Big Blue river from the point at which it crosses the Kansas line out near Old Santa Fe to its mouth, Col. Van Horn was left to look after the legislatures and my other venerable friend was posted off to Washington to get the consent of Congress to the cession. Congress was also at that time intensely pro-slavery and through Senator David R. Atchison, General B. F. Stringfellow and others, Congressional consent to the desired change could easily have been obtained. While agreeing upon everything else as to the rise and fall of this scheme, yet Col. Van Horn says that upon arriving at Washington, our Kansas friend met and fell in love with a lady with whom he took on a trip to Europe, and was not heard from in these parts for over two years.

He was the first associate Judge for the Territory. And that is how Kansas missed having one of the greatest cities on the continent. We have reformed so often in Kansas, and are working so vigorously at it now, oratorically and vociferously, with scare heads at the top of columns on the first page, that such a thing as a Kansas man abandoning a public job to-day and running off with a woman is most improbable. But fifty-three years ago I

walked across Kansas City, from the river to Westport, four miles, and I would not judge the man too harshly — there was then no ten thousand dollar front foot land in those hills.

In March, 1879, there was again great interest in a movement on the part of Kansas City, Missouri, for annexation. The legislature passed a concurrent resolution declaring that the citizens of Kansas were not opposed to such a movement, and authorized the appointment of a committee of eight, three from the Senate and five from the House, to investigate the subject. A memorial was presented to the legislature signed by Mayor George M. Shelley, three councilmen, and a committee of five citizens, in which it was said:

We assure your honorable body that our people are earnest and sincere in their desire for annexation, and should the question be submitted to the electors of the territory proposed to be annexed, it would be ratified by a virtually unanimous vote. Already a memorial to the Missouri legislature for such a submission of the question has been circulated and largely signed by our people, and will be duly presented by our representatives for the action of that honorable body.

The legislature authorized the appointment of a committee of three to confer with the citizens of Kansas City, Missouri. On the 7th of March a delegation of one hundred and twenty-five representatives of the business and commercial interests of Kansas City visited Topeka. A great reception was held, and speeches were made by Governor St. John, Speaker Sidney Clarke, Lieutenant Governor L. U. Humphrey and Colonel D. S. Twitchell. The Kansas City guests further resolved: "That we are more than ever convinced of the great and mutual advantages that would accrue to Kansas City and Kansas from a more intimate union with the young empire state." The *Kansas City Times* of March 7th, published a map showing the change in the line desired by the people of

that city. The proposed line followed the course of the Blue from a point on the State line near the southeast corner of Johnson County, running slightly east of north to the Missouri River, at this last point being a move six miles east, comprising about sixty square miles of territory. It is highly probable that the movement never reached Jefferson City.

Verily "There's a divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will", as Shakespeare said. Charles Sumner thus described our situation: "the middle spot of North America — calculated to nurture a powerful and generous people, worthy to be a central pivot of American institutions." William H. Seward said: "Kansas is the Cinderella of the American family." Surely we were cuffed about like a household drudge, and now we are feeding and leading the world. Again Seward said at Lawrence, on September 26, 1860: "Men will come up to Kansas as they go up to Jerusalem. This shall be a sacred city." Henry Ward Beecher, whose bibles and rifles are a part of our history, said: "There is no monument under heaven on which I would rather have my name inscribed than on this goodly state of Kansas." Abraham Lincoln at Springfield, Illinois, in 1857, said: "Look, Douglas, and see yonder people fleeing — see the full columns of brave men stopped — see the press and the type flying into the river, and tell me what does this! It is your Squatter Sovereignty! Let slavery spread over the territories and God will sweep us with a brush of fire from this solid globe." At our quarter centennial celebration held in 1879 John W. Forney said: "if I had been commanded to choose one spot on the Globe upon which to illustrate human development under the influence of absolute liberty, I could have chosen no part of God's footstool so interesting as Kansas. Yesterday an infant, to-day a giant, to-morrow — who can tell!"

These excerpts will show the inspiration under which

Kansas was born. The character of the proposed State, her institutions, a high idea of public policy and morality, gave tone to all the discussion, marred only by a suspicion on the part of some as to whether she could in a material sense maintain it all.

And so the only trouble we have ever had about the boundary lines of Kansas has been from the people on the outside endeavoring to get in.

SOME SIDELIGHTS ON THE CHARACTER OF SITTING BULL

BY DOANE ROBINSON

Perhaps no other American who has achieved great fame is more misapprehended than Sitting Bull, the high priest of the Hunkpapa band of the Teton Sioux. Few names are more familiar than his to the people of America and, indeed, of the civilized world. And yet very few know what he really did to acquire fame: very few, indeed, have a just understanding of his real character.

Sitting Bull was born in June, 1838, of a low caste family at the mouth of Medicine Creek in what is now Hughes County, South Dakota, about twelve miles below Pierre. His parents, who resided on Grand River in the northern part of the State, were upon a trading expedition to Fort George and at the time of his birth were fishing in Medicine Knoll Creek on the east side of the Missouri. Sitting Bull grew up at the family home on Grand River, a few miles above the present village of Little Eagle. He first came to the attention of white men at the time of the Harney treaty council at Old Fort Pierre in March, 1856, whence he came as "horseherd" to Chief Swan. He was a blustering, overgrown boy of eighteen, with a cunning, effeminate face, not at all in keeping with his sturdy body. At that time he possessed no social standing in the band. Swan would not permit him to associate with his family and his meals were passed out to him under the flap of the tipi.

When the council broke up and the people were ready to return to their homes, Sitting Bull borrowed a horse from Swan, struck off to the South, and soon after re-

turned with several horses which he had stolen from the Pawnees. This stroke of enterprise was his first passport to the consideration of his neighbors, and his recital of his experiences on the trip was his first attempt at public oratory.

Sitting Bull was not slow to discover that he possessed natural gifts as a horse thief and as an orator. He accumulated horses and astonished his elders with the fervor of his impassioned addresses made at the dances. But he was sternly denied a seat in the council. He determined, with a steady persistence which characterized him throughout his life, to overcome the prejudice of the upper caste men. There were two ways open to him. He must either acquire fame as a brave or as a medicine man. He engaged in some forays against his enemies but with indifferent success: he had no stomach for real warfare. His native cunning turned him more and more to the tricks of the conjurer and the medicine man. From the first he was successful in this direction. He developed his subtle talents and soon began to acquire fame as a prophet. Astuteness, luck, and some advance information assisted him to prognosticate certain coming events with a precision which astonished and delighted his friends and confounded big chiefs who had so profoundly ignored him. They were compelled to recognize him as "big medicine". All this did not come at once, but as the result of years of persistent plotting on his part. His oratory also increased in fervor and impressiveness and, aided by his conjurer's tricks, he acquired almost supreme influence among his people.

Sitting Bull hated the white man and loved the ways of his ancestors. Half patriot and half demagogue, he harangued the Sioux upon their duty to drive the white invaders from the prairies until he had fomented a spirit of the greatest hostility among them. He accompanied the war parties, incited them to valor, but invariably

withdrew to make medicine when the real fighting began. The old chiefs hated him, sneered at him, but were compelled to admit him to the council and he became the ruling mind of the nation. As he grew older he became more and more imbued with the heathen religion of his people and openly avowed himself the prophet of the god of the Dakotas, frequently proclaiming divine revelations. For his native religion he seemed to have real veneration. When he returned to his people in 1881 after his captivity at Fort Randall he was well convinced that further open rebellion against the whites would prove futile; but he found that his people had come a good deal, during his absence, under white missionary influence and so he settled down among them at the old home on Grand River, and set about to reestablish them in the religion of his fathers.

In his diatribes against the whites, and when he desired to drive his people into any revolutionary action, he was fierce and terrible in mien; and with withering irony or dreadful invective forced them to his support; but in his home life, with his wives and children and his intimate neighbors he was gentle as a refined woman. He set up an orphan asylum and adopted and reared as his own children eleven orphans; and every one of those still living would lay down his life to-day in defense of his memory.

About the time of his return to Grand River and to a life of peace, Miss Mary C. Collins, a missionary of the Congregational Church, established a mission at Little Eagle, about ten miles from his camp. This Christian enterprise was most displeasing to him and he harangued his people to avoid the influence of the missionary, who nevertheless made some converts and soon drew a band of faithful friends around her. Though Sitting Bull had frequently seen Miss Collins he had never spoken to her until one day he appeared upon his horse in front of her

house, bearing an infant in his arms. He peremptorily demanded that she come out to him. Though she distinctly heard his call she paid no attention to it. Repeating the demand three times without effect he dismounted and came in, angrily demanding to know why she had not obeyed his summons. Miss Collins patiently explained to him that he had been guilty of a grave breach of good usage, that gentlemen did not call ladies out but came in to them. Sitting Bull replied that he was not aware of that regulation of polite society, but that he would not forget it, and he never did. "But Wenona", he said, addressing her by her Sioux name, "I am a great medicine man, but this my child is dying. I have exhausted my powers and can do nothing for it. If you can save my child I will admit that your medicine is superior to mine". Miss Collins was an accomplished physician. She took the child from his arms, when it instantly went into a spasm. She discovered that its gums were swollen and black. Taking up a lance she scored them, and then placed the infant in a warm bath. It fell almost instantly into a quiet, refreshing sleep and was practically well from that moment. The incident made a strong impression upon Sitting Bull and he could not do enough to show his gratitude. Shortly after this he sent for the missionary and ceremoniously adopted her into the tribe as his sister, and ever after addressed her by that title.

For ten years they resided and labored side by side as the best of friends and the most inveterate rivals. Nothing of course afforded Miss Collins so much joy as to convert one of his followers to Christianity; and nothing else gave Sitting Bull more satisfaction than to induce one of these converts to backslide.

Thus conditions continued until 1890 when the Messiah craze possessed the Sioux. Sitting Bull early obtained information of it and seemed to feel that his opportunity had come. It does not appear that he con-

templated armed hostility to the whites, though he had in no degree abated his hatred of them. His hope and ambition was to regain his old time influence over the Sioux and win them back to the heathen religion of which he deemed himself the high priest and vice-gerent of God.

Early in the autumn of 1890 Sitting Bull began to proclaim that heavenly visions had been vouchsafed to him. He had been conveyed to the Rocky Mountains and there he had seen his deceased friends and neighbors restored to life, and had been assured that within a brief period they would return to their homes and families. These alleged revelations naturally created a tremendous sensation among the Sioux. The heathen accepted them without question; the Christians were greatly disturbed, and most of them were in a short time convinced. Sitting Bull set up a prayer tree, organized a dance, erected a large medicine tent for his own accommodation, and daily delivered new revelations to the people who flocked in from every part of the reservation. The excitement was hourly augmented until Sunday, December 8th, when Miss Collins went to Sitting Bull's camp as usual to hold Christian services in the little church which the faithful had provided for the purpose. Of her ordinary congregation of more than one hundred only three persons appeared, and the noise of the nearby dance drowned their hymns of devotion. The people were possessed with a religious fervor bordering upon insanity.

Leaving the church Miss Collins went to Sitting Bull's tent and demanded admission. He sent back word to her that he was engaged in his prayers and could not be disturbed. She was insistent and he came out to her and with much ceremony conducted her into the tent before he gave her permission to speak. When leave was granted she said: "Brother, you are deceiving and ruining your people. They have left their homes, their stock is neglected and dying; many are in a starving condition;

the soldiers are coming; blood will be shed and you will be held responsible for it. You must stop this nonsense and send the people home at once." He listened gravely and replied: "Sister, I have gone too far; I cannot give it up; the people will laugh at me." "It makes no difference how much they laugh," retorted the missionary. "This thing must be stopped at once; go out to them and tell them to stop dancing and go home." "Sister, I cannot," replied the old priest. "You must do it; you must do it right now; the soldiers are coming," she exclaimed. "I cannot, Sister, I cannot, but you do it. Go to the people, Sister, and tell them to go home; tell them that I, Sitting Bull, said it." Miss Collins went out to the dance, where men and women had danced for hours without rest; many were falling from sheer exhaustion and others in feigned trances; among the latter was Louis Sitting Bull, a relative of the priest's. Observing that he was feigning she rushed into him, caught him by the shoulder and shaking him, accused him of playing a part. Her action had interrupted the dance and many were watching him. He smiled sheepishly in reply to her accusation, and the people seeing it, laughed derisively. That was the end. She commanded him to get up and assist in sending the people away; she declared the soldiers were coming, as she thought they were. That evening seventy-five wagon loads of people were sent out of Sitting Bull's camp. Only those living in the immediate neighborhood remained. Sitting Bull left the medicine tent and returned to his substantial house to sleep. There was no more dancing, though there was great excitement throughout the ensuing week and Sitting Bull several times reasserted his revelation of the near approach of the departed friends. The story spread that Sitting Bull was about to go to Pine Ridge to join the dancers there. This was probably not true, but the Indian police who kept the camp under surveillance believed it and the military authorities be-

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lieved the time had come to place the old man under arrest. The plan to do so was carried out at four o'clock on Monday morning, December 15th. The fatal result is written in the history of the country.

**PAPERS AND ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT THE
THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MISSIS-
SIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION**

(Iowa City, Iowa, May 26, 27, 1910)

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

BY PRESIDENT GEORGE EDWIN MACLEAN

It is my privilege to voice a triple yes a quintuple welcome to you of the Third Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. The State University and this the ancient capital city of Iowa unite in the welcome. The State standing for quality, with excessive American altruism — the only State in the Union, according to the last census, reducing its population — meets you gentlemen of quality with quality, having freely given to all your States. The University likewise, after a period in which it has doubled its attendance, momentarily stationary in attendance through its zeal for standards, is able as one of the few standard universities to receive you recognized standard bearers of progress. The city alone has increased, with its motto "See Us Increase". It has done this by taking in its environs; and it will gladly take you in.

A quintuple welcome, we said, because the State doubles its welcome through its splendid Historical Department, and also through the University, under whose auspices is the prime host of the day, the efficient State Historical Society. Thrice, aye, and quintupled welcome are you to Iowa!

Time and place conjoin to make appropriate your meeting now and here. Your annual meeting is shifted from June to May. May is one of the historic months for the Mississippi Valley. In this month in 1539 De Soto, the discoverer of the Mississippi, landed at Tampa Bay. On the 21st of the month, three years later, the river was consecrated by his burial in it. In May, 1673,

Marquette and Joliet started from St. Ignace on their "First Voyage", which led them to be the first white men to enter the Iowa country. In May, 1800, the Indiana Territory was established, and the on-coming predominance by migration from the East of Anglo-American civilization assured. In May, 1803, Napoleon ratified the Louisiana Purchase Treaty. In May, 1839, Iowa City was laid out as the permanent capital of Iowa. In May, 1846, the Constitutional Convention, which framed the Constitution under which Iowa was admitted to the Union, sat in yonder old stone Capitol. In May, 1848, and May, 1858, respectively, Wisconsin and Minnesota were admitted to the Union. As patriotic orders meet to commemorate anniversaries, so well might an historical organization make the date of its annual meeting in a period of such anniversaries.

The place is auspicious for your third annual meeting. Your first, properly, was in the State of the head waters of the Mississippi, at Lake Minnetonka, with its picturesque Minnehaha tributary of the Mississippi. Your second meeting naturally was at St. Louis, the confluence of northern and southern civilization, and the metropolis of the Mississippi Valley. Your third annual meeting is your first at a University, though you are the immediate guest of the State Historical Society. It is significant when in 1857, the present Constitution of Iowa was framed, the University was placed at Iowa City and without branches elsewhere, that the State Historical Society was, in the words of the Constitution, placed "under the auspices of the University".

The Historical Society is an autonomous branch, or department, of the University. This harmonizes with the object of your Association as stated in your constitution — "To promote historical study and research, and to secure coöperation between the historical societies and the departments of history of the Mississippi Valley."

The University is the home of research, and history is a primary department of the institution. Detached professional schools, like those of medicine and law, are doomed. Detached departments and societies also, unless affiliated with universities, are likely to decline or disappear. Why not at this meeting advance to a stage where your Association enlarges the coöperation not only between historical societies and departments of history, but among all cognate organizations, using universities, and naturally State universities, as coördinating centers? Many university departments are involved, for the historical sciences embrace much more than so-called departments of history: they include those of literature, political economy, and social sciences. What a modern and manifold field in this Mississippi Valley these subjects afford! We are but at the beginning of the exploration. May I say without immodesty that The State Historical Society of Iowa has been blazing the pathway. It has inaugurated coöperation between itself and libraries, schools, and county societies. Its publications tell of its preparation and accomplishments in the field of research. Inspired by your presence and plans, may this Society, those of each one of you, and all the institutions named go forward.

PROFESSIONAL IDEALS

BY ORIN G. LIBBY

Somewhere in the course of the development of every individual, and of most organizations, there comes a time when the formation of a statement of ideals has as much place in the evolution as any other phase of growth. We have come to accept ideals as the inevitable and certain resultant of those forces and activities within us in which imagination and intuition are balanced against reason and perception.

There are many reasons just now why a discussion of ideals is especially appropriate and timely. In the ceaseless round of professional tasks such as ours the reflective element must necessarily be subordinated for the present, at least, to the pressing needs of organization and reorganization of departmental and institutional machinery and of the collection and classification of relatively large masses of new material from the varied fields of research. There is also to be borne in mind the potential menace of what our newest critics are pleased to call vocational education, with its inevitable accompaniment, *practical* education — a continually recurrent phenomenon which we have been taught to accept as a punishment for our professional sins in doing what we ought not to have done and in leaving undone what we ought to have done. All of these hindrances and distractions have served in the past and must continue to serve as a very considerable handicap to anything like a leisurely and quiet consideration of our ideals. But in precisely the proportion that we find it difficult to halt are we impelled to do so, that we may enter upon the larger phases of

our tasks and, in silence and alone, recover our spiritual equilibrium in order that we may not be led astray by the mere fury and din of action and thus lose touch with the eternal verities that abide. Especially in our present environment and in our hand to hand struggle with nature in this our unique industrial battle ground must we of necessity seek out ideals that shall help us wisely to control and direct the heterogenous forces and contending interests everywhere about us. Without such ideals we are in danger ourselves of becoming the slaves of the world's hardest taskmaster that drives men to kill themselves by mere routine labor. Such luckless toilers fall about us every day, some by disease, some by premature old age — the sorriest by their own hands. If we would be masters in our own chosen field we must have ideals. If we would be the artists whose thoughts furnish a hundred artisans with a plentiful harvest of labor, we must not only toil ceaselessly but dream mightily. The most tireless and majestic toiler of the ancient world, the Roman nation, stood at last with down-dropped hands in the midst of a universe of her own making, without hope as without power of recuperation — she was without ideals. The regeneration of the world came through Christianity by virtue of the ideals the church was able to offer, the highest of them all, service in brotherly love and charity which we of to-day have not been wholly successful in attaining even after the lapse of all the intervening centuries.

The political ideals of John Calvin, Rousseau, and Thomas Jefferson have entered as fundamental constituents into our civic ideals here and now. Wrought in with them are the aspirations and hopes of the western explorer, the missionary, the frontiersman and the foreign immigrant, who have successively crossed the Father of Waters to realize *their* ideals in stern action and strenuous citizenship. That this great Valley has come to be

the vantage ground of religious advance and social and civic reform is due to the permanence of all these ideals. They float continually before our eyes like rallying banners, at the forefront of every conflict, outriding the welter and wreck of every storm, and dominating it like the sun in heaven.

Professional ideals are not new to any of us; there is a code of ethics that tacitly controls the medical profession; and there is such a code for other professions that has a definite sanction in the common agreement of its members to keep it inviolable. Professional ethics for the teacher have been often suggested but, so far as I know, have not yet been formulated. Perhaps this has been due to the common delusion that since the teacher is always underpaid only those thoroughly disinterested and above suspicion could be attracted to this field of work. The increasing importance and dignity of the teaching profession has more than once suggested the query as to the code of ethics controlling those to whom we commit our future citizens for so large a part of their time during the most impressionable period of their lives. That we all have professional ideals as teachers is, I think, fairly evident from the generally unremunerative character of the positions we hold. And, barring the small percentage of failures and of those who drift, the general level of the teaching profession is high, and there is a constant exemplification of consistently high ideals.

If, now, we consider a restricted field of teaching and include only the field of history, we shall still have a large and varied group of workers with common interests and aims and with ideals which are not very divergent. While it would no doubt be possible to consider a much larger group without doing violence to essential unity, I have chosen to consider the professional ideals common to those whose major work is history. This, I take it, is not far from being a correct generalization regarding those

in attendance at these sessions. We may very properly ask, first, what is our ideal of citizenship which we exemplify in the civic life of the community where we reside? Is it too much to say that our profession demands of us such a progressive and enlightened position on all public questions that none of the students who come under our instruction may be led astray by what we do or say? But doing the intelligent thing wisely but effectively in civic life is a duty which we can not any longer escape. And it means the added burden of informing ourselves on what is going on about us, for it is futile to attempt the common excuse, lack of time and pressure of professional duties. To be an intelligent and useful citizen is a professional duty that yields to none in importance. History in the making has certainly as valid claims upon us as history of any other variety. What we think and how we think in the living present concerns our friends and neighbors and more vitally still the small group of students who are forming their ideals upon those they can observe in practice as well as in theory among their college faculty. If we have two standards — one for past history which is progressive, high, and righteous, and another for the present which is purely conventional, conservative or even anti-social — we shall exemplify in the worst way the necessity of reshaping our ideals so as to bring the whole sphere of our life consistently under their influence. The opportunities we enjoy at the present time for the expression of our views and convictions in a purely non-partisan way are ample enough for the most prudent of us. With the many local organizations eager to secure speakers on live questions, with commercial clubs, park boards, civic improvement leagues, health leagues, and other State and national organizations, we can find no excuse for not speaking our minds freely and forcefully before some of these groups of earnest citizens who have banded themselves together to promote the

cause of civic righteousness. Nor should we resist the suggestion of these organizations in the direction of forming some working ideals for those of us who have heretofore done no consecutive thinking along these lines.

In still another field we have a right to insist upon ideals for our profession — that of the personal or private life. No one will deny that we should exemplify something considerably above the average of the community. Our students have a right to demand of us also that whatever dubious personal habits or practices we may ourselves have — physical, mental, or moral — that none of these by precept or example, be allowed to dim the unsullied vision of those to whom we are the exemplar of all excellence. Granted, as we must, a great variety of standards in our profession in these respects, it still remains true that the greatest mischief arises from thoughtlessness rather than from any difference of tastes or habits, and that we all of us have here a delicate but far-reaching and unescapable responsibility.

In the intellectual field we have as clearly our ideals as elsewhere. Whatever else we may or may not agree upon, we all desire to remain progressive and alive, seeking continually some new field for productive effort. It is this which more than all else, distinguishes the newer from what we may call the classical school of historians. To view history as something dynamic, incomplete, evolving, is to assume toward this subject the attitude which will tend to make it an organic part of a student's life and one of the subjects to persist as a part of later experience, because of the inherent value of its thought product in the practical applications of life. For ourselves, we cannot longer view history as static nor can we allow our colleagues to so refer to it. Said a college professor to me not long ago: "What have you new to teach, all history is written." While it is true that classic Greek and Latin are rounded out, the man who takes this

view of history, either in theory or practice, has missed his vocation, and we can well spare him from the profession. We all know the deadening effect of routine — its worst consequence is the killing off of original investigation and the transforming of the man into an intellectual drillmaster. This habit of mind, once established, often leads to the rather regrettable practice of second rate compilation of texts for indiscriminating but enterprising publishers. Undoubtedly our profession is on the average greatly underpaid, and this is responsible, in no small measure, for the deflection of professional activity from the field of original thinking to that of the purely commercial transaction. Happy the man who can win for his creative power some adequate financial return. The absence of this very necessary element is too often the cause of a gradual loss of interest in creative work. But the very sacrifice necessary to keep alive professionally places this among our highest ideals. To live in the fullest sense of the term, we must create; mere routine drugs the creative faculty into a sleep that knows no waking. Of these unfortunates the great Teacher truly said: "eyes they have but they see not, and ears, but they hear not." Not by the most conscientious and persistent repetition can we carry out our ideals; mere verbal memory is but a base faculty after all. We must not be content with what we have done, and mark time for ten years because we have accomplished one task well and worthily, with applause; that is merely an excellent reason for taking the next step, for creating what has never seen the light — not once more, but continually as long as we hold membership in our profession. This is ever the demand of the young upon the older and more conservative, a demand that must be met by a continually changing leadership or by a quickening of the pace of those in the front rank. Still another reason for continuing to create is the effect it has upon our own students.

Like produces like never so certainly as in the field of intellectual effort. For example, a sluggish or unproductive conductor of a seminar reaps but a scant harvest among the members of his class. The same result is produced when there is lack of a scrupulous care to give due credit for all work done by students. Nothing is so deadly to the exercise of creative power as the uncertainty of its recognition, from neglect to give due credit for work honestly done. But in a profession of high ideals such as ours there is no place for anything else than the nicest and most exact standard of fairness in all such matters.

Historical seminars where such a noble and broad-minded spirit predominates are rare; but their methods and their results are unique. The historical seminar at Johns Hopkins may well serve as a model in this respect to our western institutions. Both its methods and their results are an irrefutable argument in favor of more and more of similar work everywhere in our profession. The work at present being carried on here in this University, under the inspiration and guidance of Professor Shambaugh has in it the permanent qualities of rare scholarship and the indefatigable and discriminating pursuit of the truth. Such seminars, devoted, untiring and purposeful, wielded like a sculptor's chisel, are even now carving the lineaments of true history for the instruction and delight of coming generations.

We can never avoid a deep sense of obligation to the State and to our own generation, as well as an earlier one, for the powers and privileges we possess and enjoy and for the environment in which we are fortunate enough to live and work. It is seldom, indeed, that great capacity and rare opportunity are not combined with a most fitting modesty or humility. Where it is absent, we infallibly feel its lack, thus proving that it is one of our ideals — not always insisted upon, but always tacitly acknowledged

to be inseparable from true leadership. Thus we naturally revolt at this commonest of American faults, cheap advertising — that commercial exploitation of one's talents, idiosyncracies, habits, or prejudices, which disgusts all who possess the real sensibilities of the gentleman. And as no one is more modest than the one who is truly proud, both pride and modesty forbid all unnecessary display either through the press or on the public platform. It must be our ideal to furnish inspiration, not to project a sensation, to open new ranges of thought, not to tickle the jaded palate of an indifferent public. A lecture, a book, a magazine article may be our best vehicle for the conveying of a vital message; but we are forever barred the use of the merely popular, the spectacular, or even the safely respectable. Noblesse oblige is as binding an ideal for us as for an outworn age long since past.

Among the multitudes of subjects that are constantly coming up for settlement in the life of an active worker in history, one at least is common enough to be fairly well known to all. I refer to what is usually called the collector's ethics. One veteran phrased it this way: "When you see what you want, buy it if it is for sale; if not, borrow it; should this fail, steal it." I do not pretend to say that this is the ethics of all museum and other collectors, public and private; but I do know it is a very common and very convenient code and has aided many an enthusiast to secure for his collection what otherwise would be beyond his reach. The injustice and harm which results from this perversion of scholarly enthusiasm is apparent enough. Yet it is not so easy in the concrete case to do the fair thing when all the advantage of fair play is on the other side, and to bear in mind what the loss may mean to the original owner of the museum specimen, the manuscript, or the rare book which seemed so desirable or necessary that doubtful means were used

to secure it. There are so many places where such problems arise that it becomes well nigh universal. As head of a library or museum, as field officer for an historical society, as director of a seminar, or even as a head of a department, we are fixing a policy, or setting an example for observant and unformed students, or determining ideals for all those with whom we come in contact in all the varied relations of college life. Our professional ethics may also be considered to extend to the business relations of our profession. Our highest ideal should be to earn all we get and seek only by the most direct and simple means the advancement we have merited. In the game of politics, local and national, the finesse of the players is such as to extort our unwilling admiration. The veteran politician knows every move of the game, and he wins or loses with equal equanimity. It is his profession to take these chances and make the most of them. From this intolerable sale and barter, our profession is fortunately removed by a greater or less distance. The injection to even a slight degree of such politics and maneuvering into the activities of our profession or those allied with us in the whole range of college life is, of course, unthinkable. It has been known to occur now and then, but its results are always disastrous. It has been the distinction of the true men of letters that there has been none of the taint of office-seeking in their lives: it is their glory that they have not anxiously sought that material return for their toil exactly proportioned to its worth. It may be that our profession has somewhat to learn from these idealists. And after all, who but the poet can rightly judge of essential and eternal values. If we make the round of the highest, they all have some fatal defect of judgment that prevents them from seeing clearly. The teacher of religion should be able to pass judgment truly, but he is in the theological straight-jacket and has besides certain traditional and quasi-mythological entanglements to hin-

der his freedom of action. The scientist must wait for his latest improved microscope or telescope before passing judgment. The philosopher is circumscribed by the postulates of his particular school of thinking or its phraseology; and so is the economist, the historian, the lawyer, or the jurist.

But to the poet is vouchsafed the vision of the highest, he sees the permanent and real amid the shows and shadows of seeming. True poetry is the language of the soul at its highest, when ideals seem most real and the attainment of them the only desirable good that life has for us.

We are not and can not be poets; and the nature of our tasks and the character of our material places about us well defined limitations. Nevertheless the vision of high ideals may be ours, and the realizing of these ideals in the commonplace drudgery of study and research will enable us to achieve results possessed of the abiding qualities to be found only in work worthy of life-long sacrifice.

THE PIONEER AND THE FOREST

BY BOHUMIL SHIMEK

It may be somewhat presumptuous on the part of one whose energies have been devoted chiefly to a modest study of the conditions which prevail in the natural world undefiled by man to appear before a body of students and investigators of those subjects which deal more particularly with man and with the more or less artificial conditions which he brings about and attempt to discourse upon any subject which would harmonize with the special field of their effort and interest. Nay, it would be wholly absurd but for the fact that there are many points of contact between the natural world and those activities of mankind which form the basis and the chief aim of historical study and research.

The student of natural history is interested in the conditions and forces which determine climate, topography, soils, drainage, and plant covering, together with the dependent fauna: the student of human history is concerned with the progress which man makes under the conditions thus provided by nature. The two interests are often antagonistic but always intimately related, and the history of the one practically begins where that of the other ends.

The pioneer came to the Mississippi Valley and wrought out the introduction to a remarkable chapter in human history; but he found here, ready for his use, the fertile prairies, the rich forests, the great river systems, and the wondrous climate with just enough of severity to temper his physical, mental, and moral being and yet sufficiently mild to coax out of the matchless soils the bounti-

ful treasures which have made of the splendid valley one of the great granaries of the world.

The pioneer came out of the wooded east where he had learned to look upon trees as an obstacle to his progress. His fathers had come to the shores of this continent in search of gold or adventure; but they were by instinct tillers of the soil, and when the gaudy baubles which had attracted them like a fatuous will-o'-the-wisp finally burst they again returned to the soil. And now the forest was invaded, for it abounded everywhere, and he who would till the soil must first remove the forest. Moreover, the considerations which afterwards guided the pioneers of our own Mississippi Valley had their influence, and the forest soil alone was considered worthy of cultivation. And thus the earlier eastern pioneer came to look upon the forest as an obstacle and an enemy; and if his demands for the products of the forest did not keep pace with the amount removed to make way for agricultural purposes, the surplus was destroyed by fire. Devastation marked the progress of the pioneer down the western slopes of the Alleghanies and across the hills and valleys bordering the Ohio to the great central prairies of the Mississippi Valley.

For everywhere the pioneer sought the forest, though he could not tolerate it; hailed it with delight only to destroy it; and accepted of its shelter and its generous bounties only to repay it with the ax and the grub-hoe.

The earliest settlements in the Mississippi Valley were established in forested regions, as is well-known, and in many cases the settlers crossed fertile prairies that they might locate upon less fertile forest lands. Thus the rich prairies of Illinois were left behind for the inferior wooded hills of eastern Iowa; the fine prairies lying between the stream valleys of eastern Iowa did not even form a halting-place for the caravan of the pioneers; for they sought their camping grounds, and finally their

permanent homes, in the forested lands of the rougher river borders, not even the lure of the beauty of the prairies in summer being sufficient to hold them.

There were reasons for this seeking of the forest other than the primitive atavistic tendencies inherited from ancient ancestors who roamed the forests of Europe.

The pioneer found in the forest the building material for the construction of his rude palace, the log hut, which was the result of his first effort to build a home; he found there the fuel with which he might prepare his meals and temper the biting cold of the dreary winter; he found bubbling springs and sparkling streams, which furnished necessary water; he found abundant game for his table, which was more easily secured under cover of the forest; and finally he brought with him from the East the conviction that only forest lands were fertile. He failed to observe that the forests grew on the poorest lands, on the clay and gravelly hills of loess and drift, and on the sandy bottom-lands, that the rich surface soil of the forest was a product of the forest itself and constituted a veneer which was swept away from both hillside and bottom-land by the first freshet which followed the clearing of the forest, and that on the other hand the prairies teemed with plant life similar to that upon which he depended for his crops, the prairie grasses being closely related to his cereals in both structure and habit.

These were the first reasons which prompted the pioneer to settle in the forest; but there were soon added two others. One was the fury of the prairie fires which periodically swept the great plains, and he congratulated himself that he enjoyed the cover of the forest. Again he felt his utter helplessness before the terror of the swirling, bewildering, blinding blizzard from which the forest protected him.

Under these trying conditions, far remote from a

base of supplies, and remote from the comforts and conveniences of a more advanced and more refined civilization, the pioneer built his home. He struggled with want and privation, suffered the physical pangs of hunger and the keener mental pain caused by his inability to provide the desired comforts and advantages for his loved ones; but unflinchingly he faced the dangers and the privations of the wilderness.

In the cleansing flame of adversity he developed strength of character, self-reliance, and independence, together with a knowledge of suffering which made him helpful and sympathetic toward others, and which gave rise to that spirit of traditional hospitality for which the pioneers were famous.

His influence upon our national character has been far-reaching, and we honor him for the splendid heritage of both qualities and traditions which he has left us, and we bless his memory because he had the foresight and the courage to lay the foundations of a civilization which has developed with astounding rapidity in what he found a wilderness.

No longer does man find it necessary to restrict himself to the forest — indeed, by his wasteful methods he has largely destroyed it — for he has taken possession of the prairies whose native summer splendor and winter terrors alike have disappeared. Over their broad expanse no tinted waves of a varied flora sweep before the summer breeze, for countless acres of grain now cover their surface. Fires no longer devastate them and the power of the blinding blizzard has been largely broken by the groves and shelter belts which everywhere give comfort and protection to countless homes, occupied by a prosperous people who weave wreathes of grateful memories for the pioneer in a region where through his courage and perseverance human happiness has supplanted the solitude of the wilderness.

U. S. N.

But notwithstanding the marvelous results and the splendid influences of the efforts of the pioneers there have followed certain evils for which those who sought equal benefits without corresponding effort were responsible.

The methods of the pioneer were of necessity wasteful. He lacked the appliances and often the skill necessary to the proper preparation of materials for his use. Moreover he had but to reach out to find everywhere an apparently limitless supply of unbounded riches of which he was sole master.

But his wastefulness and his extravagances resulted largely from necessity. He graced his table with venison and quail on toast because he could get nothing else; he sometimes used precious furs shaped into crude clothing because there was nothing else to protect him from the cold of winter; and he used valuable black walnut for rails or fine red cedar for posts because other materials were not as readily fashioned for immediate use.

But it must be said for the good sense and sound judgment of the pioneer that as the country became more settled, as industries developed, as civilization advanced around and beyond him he became the wisest conservator of our scant forest resources. It was the old pioneer who preserved the timber-land and forest tract. There may have been something of sentiment in this — there may have been memories that were kept green by the presence of these groves, there may have been reminiscences aroused by them which touched the heart-strings — but whether it was sentiment or keen foresight the result was the same. While the pioneer lived the grove was safe. It protected the hillside from wasteful erosion, the stream from becoming clogged with silt, and the spring from becoming dry.

Unfortunately scarcely were the calloused hands folded in death when the younger generation all too frequent-

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ly lost all sight of both the future and the past, and for the sake of a little immediate profit hacked and sawed and bartered and bargained away the splendid heritage which should have been a source of continuous advantage and profit to generations of a happy people.

The success, the wealth, the opportunity that came to the pioneer intoxicated those who followed him, and the greed for gain became the overmastering passion of men. The discovery of the great mine of our natural resources was followed by that wonderful industrial development which marks the present age. The latter fact, unfortunately, has also resulted in a tremendous abuse of those natural resources which are everywhere being drained to meet the constantly increasing demands of industrial interests. Almost every community in the land bows down to the fetich of industrial and resultant commercial activity, and almost every community has been deceived by the cry that certain "business interests" must be encouraged for the salvation of that community. And yet how often have industries so heralded resulted in ultimate failure, with possible profit for the few, but loss and suffering for the many — besides so often bringing disgrace to the individual, wrecking private character, and entailing the depreciation of individual and public moral sense.

Young men have been taught, by implication if not by direction, that money-making is the great goal of all ambition.

We should not condemn legitimate business enterprise, but it is high time that we adopt some standard other than the dollar. The mad quest for wealth is demoralizing our young men, developing gamblers and criminals — and not all in lowly places. It is rapidly producing two extreme classes of people, the very rich and the very poor — both undesirable in normal, healthy society. It brings neither honor nor contentment; nor does it call

for a superior intelligence, but rather for a particular kind of cunning and sometimes a blunt moral sense.

In many cases our feverish industrial activity has been productive of great wealth; but too often that wealth has brought its own curse. It has led to the growth of an odious aristocracy; to the bringing up of families which have become parasites upon society; to that kind of contempt for righteousness which has made scandal in high life common; and to the toleration of that which in any code of pure morals, would be set down as improper if not criminal.

In the great majority of cases the great private fortunes were derived from natural wealth which should have been conserved for the benefit of the whole people. We have been lavish in our gifts to everyone who undertook to "develop" our natural resources, which, when properly interpreted, means to destroy them in the shortest possible time with the greatest profit to the shrewd promoter of the scheme.

We have been absolutely reckless in our treatment of our natural resources, and many of the business enterprises built upon them cost us dearly. In those cases where the resources have persisted for a longer time and become necessities, like water-power, coal, and oil, we have given away the power and the opportunity which the favored few now use in such manner that the people of the United States, the unfortunate donors of these magnificent gifts, are placed at their mercy.

In many cases the industrial enterprises which brought great private fortunes have been forgotten, but they have left behind the wreck of recklessly wasted resources.

The resources of the Mississippi Valley have suffered quite as much as those of other sections of the country. A number of industries were dependent on the American bison; but the bison is no more. The products

of the beaver gave employment to many men; but the beaver is fast disappearing. The pearl button industry revived the drooping business spirit of some of our own river towns; but clams are no longer found within our borders in sufficient quantity for profitable manufacture and again disappointment and disaster are following in the wake of "business enterprise". The forests of this country were thought to be inexhaustible, and everywhere the hum of the sawmill was welcomed as the harbinger of prosperity. Yet to-day many of the great forest areas are reduced to barren wastes; and while a few private fortunes were piled up, suffering for the many stares us in the face. Indeed, the increased cost of lumber is already working hardships. Only a few years ago a large part of the southern peninsula of Michigan was covered with splendid pine forests which grew upon the poorest soils. To-day the forests are cleared, and there remains only a sandy, barren tract of stump-land which will not even sustain sheep! Other portions of the country have fared equally badly, and everywhere there has been the same reckless disregard of consequences. It has simply been a game of grab, and no thought was given to the morrow. No attempt was made to husband or perpetuate our natural resources; and in almost every case the result has been the killing of the goose that laid the golden egg.

But the loss of these resources is not the only calamity which has befallen us. So widespread was the idea that everyone was entitled to anything which was "public" that the land-grabber and the timber-thief came to be regarded merely as enterprising citizens, and the standard of public morals was lowered to such an extent that the courts and public opinion sustained various so-called "vested rights", even when they were secured through fraud and collusion. But to some extent there has been a public awakening, and even the cold-blooded

self-satisfied business man is beginning to cast about for some method which will save us from our own folly.

In no case has there been a more wanton disregard of consequences than in the treatment of our forest resources. Before the conscienceless greed of the individual, encouraged by the lack of appreciation and understanding on the part of the public, splendid forests vanished in a few years. Not only was there the legitimate cutting of timber for the sawmill, but enormous tracts were devastated by fire — sometimes through carelessness, oftener by design. Nor has the destruction of wood been the only resulting calamity. Our forests grew naturally upon the poorer soils. When they were cleared, the veneer of soil upon the clay and gravel ridges and of alluvium upon the sandy river bottoms was soon removed, and the clay and sand, often unfit for cultivation, were brought to the surface. The erosion which followed the clearing of the forest permitted the waters to run off rapidly from the surface, thus causing the disappearance of springs. It also filled the streams with sand and mud, and made their formerly clear waters turbid. The effect of this destruction was felt not only by the owner of the land which was thus denuded, but by all his neighbors, and the question became one not of individual rights but of common good and public welfare.

Moreover, this devastation has brought other disasters in its wake. The wasted lands soon fell into the hands of conscienceless speculators who, by generously advertised bargains, enticed to these worthless tracts thousands of innocent victims who were deluded by the impossible hope that upon them they might find homes and happiness. The get-rich-quick ranks were thus reinforced by an army of human wolves which continue to prey upon countless thousands of their deluded fellow-men; and we look on complacently, especially if success has crowned their efforts.

The early settlers were forced to employ crude and wasteful methods in the use of the resources which they found at their disposal. Yet all the destruction caused by the pioneers in the years of sheer necessity is not to be compared with the ruin which has been caused by those who are no longer driven to extremes by harsh circumstances and yet carry on the work of destruction for a little immediate profit without thought of the future. Nor can the material harm done by the combined wastefulness of the pioneers and the hungry greed of the present generation compare with the untold injury which has been inflicted on our nation by the lowering of the standards of public morals which has resulted from the temptation offered by the boundless opportunities to get rich which were presented by our extravagantly fabulous natural resources, at first legitimately, and finally as a lure to crime and debauchery.

THE EVOLUTION OF NEBRASKA

BY ALBERT WATKINS

The meaning of the term evolution has changed about as much as it is my purpose to show that the Nebraska Country has changed. The latest authoritative definition I have seen is that of the Oxford professor, William Morris Davis, recently given in his Lowell lectures at Harvard University. "Evolution", he says, "is that process whereby organic forms are changed during descent." I am here using the term legitimately, I think, to cover organized forms. Professor Morris's observations that "earlier forms of life are simpler than the later", that "the doctrine of special creations does not stand", and that "organisms are adapted to their environment, and not the environment to the organisms", will also be illustrated as I proceed.

Nebraska, whose Siouan significance is "wide with a shallow brim", named and characterized an important river, the name in turn passing by reflection to a very wide region of country which the river bisected — the great central belt of the Louisiana Purchase — and also to a political measure of country-wide importance. The historical beginnings of the richest agricultural region in the world ranged, like its vast herds of wild cattle, along this remarkable stream; and it was, indeed, the magnet which gradually but irresistibly drew to its own central course the great traffic system which was at first the cause and then the effect of the industrial development of "the Nebraska Country". The early explorers made this river "classy" if not classic. Fremont noted that in the short Wind River chain "are the head waters

of four great rivers of the continent"—the Colorado, the Columbia, the Missouri, and the Platte.¹ William Clark (of the Lewis and Clark expedition) left more than an impressionist's picture of the "Great River Platt", as he persistently called it.

This Great river being much more rapid than the Missourie forces its Current against the opposit Shore. The Current of this river comes with great velocity roleing its Sands into the Missouri, filling up its Bead & Compelling it to ineroach on the S [really the east] Shore. we found great difiuelty in passing around the Sand at the Mouth of this River. Cap^t. Lewis and Myself with 6 men in a perogue went up this Great river Platt about two miles, found the Current verry rapid roleing over Sands, passing through different Channels none of them more than five or Six feet deep, about 900 [600] yards Wide at the Mouth, I am told by one of our Party who wintered two winters on this river, that "it is much wider above, and does not rise more than five or six feet" Spreds verry wide [with many small islands scattered thro' it,] and from its rapidity, & roleing Sands Cannot be navagated with Boats or Perogues. The Indians pass this river in Skin Boats which is flat and will not turn over.²

In the earlier decades of the last century, before land transportation had been established over the Oregon Trail, fur-traders made some use of the Platte River for shipping their pelts by bullboat, though the larger shipments from the region about the head-waters of the Platte reached the Missouri River, on their way to St. Louis, by way of the Bighorn and Yellowstone rivers. The main patronage of the Platte for this purpose was from the Pawnee villages down to the mouth; but this was not of any great extent. When they had run its course the traders were obliged "to set the boats for the Missouri" before continuing to St. Louis.³

¹ Fremont's *First and Second Expeditions*, 1842-3-4, p. 63.

² Thwaites's *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1804-1806, Vol. I, pp. 86, 87.

³ Clark's *The Christian Keepsake*, 1839, pp. 53, 54, 55.

In March, 1813, Robert Stuart's belated party of returning Astorians embarked in canoes at their winter quarters near Scott's Bluff, Nebraska, but found navigation impracticable. They proceeded on foot to the Oto village, then about forty-five miles above the mouth of the river, whence they descended in a large Indian-made canoe. At that season of the year these travelers lacked the buffalo hides necessary for the construction of bull-boats — and probably, also, the knowledge of their indispensability. They reported at St. Louis that the Platte was navigable for barges for a distance of two hundred miles. From the point at which they reached it — presumably the cañon — as far down as the Oto village, it was "a mere bed of sand, without water sufficient to float a skin canoe."⁴

On the return trip of his first expedition in 1842, Fremont's harebrained attempt to shoot the rapids of the great North Platte cañon serves to disclose a screw-loose quality of the pathfinder's character which became so apparent in his subsequent political adventures. This also shows the dual character of the river — the contrast between the crowded course of its upper reaches, and the multifarious channels and pockets or the widespread smoothness of its lower course. Yet, notwithstanding that when Fremont permitted ambition and the public applause to tempt him into the broader field of statesmanship and war, his talents were, like the lower waters of the Platte, spread out so thin as to be ineffective, unenvious and candid critics found in him such sterner qualities as the most important explorer of the Nebraska Country must, perforce, have possessed. After a trying companionship in the all but earliest overland journey to Oregon in 1843, Peter H. Burnett, the famous Oregon pioneer, was able to characterize the pathfinder thus:

⁴ Bradbury's *Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811*, p. 232.

He was then about thirty years old, modest in appearance, and calm and gentle in manner. His men all loved him intensely. He gave his orders with great mildness and simplicity, but they had to be obeyed. There was no shrinking from duty. He was like a father to those under his command. At that time I thought I could endure as much hardship as most men, especially a small, slender man like Governor Fremont, but I was wholly mistaken. He had a small foot, and wore a thin calf-skin boot, and yet he could endure more cold than I could with heavy boots on. I never traveled with a more pleasant companion than Governor Fremont. His bearing toward me was as kind as that of a brother.⁵

But in his upward march in 1842 Fremont met at the end of June, just below the head of Grand Island, a party of trappers who two months before had started from Ft. Laramie with a fleet of barges laden with furs. Though this was the time of the annual flood and their boats drew only nine inches, they were obliged to discharge most of the cargo at a point one hundred and thirty miles below the fort. Even thus lightly laden they became discouraged after some twenty days of struggle against alternating bars and deep holes and frequent running into pockets, necessitating long reverses of their course to get out of them; and so they abandoned the boats and all but the packs they could carry on their backs.⁶ When, in the middle of September, Fremont's party reached the junction of the forks of the Platte on the return trip, they built a bullboat at great pains, which drew only four inches of water with four men in it; but after trying to float the vessel — in fact mainly dragging it three or four miles — they were obliged to abandon it.⁷ Subsequent settlers of the Nebraska Country on the Missouri River

⁵ Burnett's *Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer in The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Vol. V, No. 1, March, 1904, p. 88.

⁶ Fremont's *First and Second Expeditions*, 1842-3-4, p. 17.

⁷ Fremont's *First and Second Expeditions*, 1842-3-4, p. 78.

and in the gold mines in the mountain borders continued fruitless attempts to navigate this delusive stream until there was definite prospect for a railroad along its valley.

In January, 1860, the sixth Territorial legislature tried to convince Congress of the feasibility of navigating the river in a memorial praying for a grant of twenty thousand acres of public lands to one John A. Latta, on condition that on or before October 1, 1861, he should "place on said river a good and substantial steamboat and run the same between the mouth of said Platte river and new Ft. Kearney, for the purpose of carrying freight and passengers, and shall do all necessary dredging of said river for the successful performance of the same."

The resolution certified, with little or no strain of conscience, that "there is a sufficient volume of water flowing in said river, which is a thousand miles in length, to carry ordinary steamboats."⁸ The memorialists protested too much against the injury done the Territory by reports and beliefs that the river was not navigable.

All who enjoy even a superficial acquaintance with this typically superficial stream know that the instability of its current puts out of countenance the shaky reputation of the foundation of the scriptural house, so that the dredging process would have been a necessity on every trip and thus would have become only an end instead of a means of navigation. It seems less likely that the memorialists, virtually born to the capricious manner of the Platte, innocently believed in the practicability of their ostensible purpose than that the procuring of the subsidy was their primary care. Though I have crossed this celebrated river many, many times, at each recurring view my mind has run to politicians I have known, as its complete analogs. Even the fickle municipalities which now thickly adorn its great valley stay wet or dry a full year, but never so dry but that wet pockets reward the

⁸ Watkins in the *Illustrated History of Nebraska*, Vol. I, pp. 104, 105.

quest of the wise. Editor Furnas, of the *Nebraska Advertiser*, a pioneer acquaintance of the Platte, was at least nearer the truth than the memorial was. Noting in his paper^{*} the upward passage of a little boat built for the particular purpose of navigating the Platte, he predicted that this "little one-horse affair will not amount to much." He insisted that the enterprise demanded a perpetual dredger, "a boat sufficiently large to splash around and stir up the sand, that a channel may be formed by washing."

As I have already hinted, the Platte is probably the most human of all rivers — human characteristics, according to poets and other philosophers, including especially the testaments of the Hebrew prophets, old and new, being vanity, deceitfulness, and delusion. In the Platte these qualities are so uniform in their operation that they amount to constancy. In short, expectations based upon appearances of the Platte are always disappointing, while only those who expect to be disappointed never are. The Platte is the best epitome and illustration of Maupassant's philosophy that "Each man creates an illusion of the world for himself . . . according to his nature", or of the old orthodox hymns — especially those of Watts — whose chief burden is the illusions of life. But in one physical and very important economic aspect the Platte is uniform. After it leaves the mountains its descent, though rapid, is remarkably even. The altitude of Plattsmouth above the sea level is 960 feet; that of Kearney, 2152 feet — a difference of 1192 feet. The aggregate increase at a point the same distance west from Kearney as Kearney is west from Plattsmouth is less than a hundred feet greater than that between Plattsmouth and Kearney. The total distance covered by the comparison is 336 miles. Considering, further, that the valley itself is as flat and proportionately as wide as the

^{*} May 12, 1859.

river, we comprehend the observation made in 1855 by Lieutenant Gouverneur K. Warren, topographical engineer — afterward famous as engineer of the Army of the Potomac and hero of Little Round Top at Gettysburg — that it was “one of the best wagon roads of its length in America”. And again, from an 1857 point of view he said that “Of all the valleys of rivers running into the Missouri, that of the Platte furnishes the best route for any kind of a road leading to the interior, and the best point of starting is the *vicinity* of Omaha City”.¹⁰ That my emphasis of “*vicinity*” need not be accounted for as a recrudescence of traditional South Platte contumely will presently appear.

Peter H. Burnett, in describing his trip over the trail in 1843, throws some illuminating flash lights upon the Platte River:

We traveled twenty-five miles over the finest road imaginable, and our eyes first beheld the wide and beautiful valley of the Great Platte. . . . We struck the river near the head of Grand Island, which is seventy-five miles long, covered with timber, and several miles wide, varying greatly, in places, as to width; but what was strange, there was not a solitary tree on the south side of the river where we were. The river above the island, as far as the Forks, is generally about two miles wide. Perhaps this is one of the most remarkable rivers in the world. Like the Nile, it runs hundreds of miles through a sandy desert. The valley of this stream is from fifteen to twenty miles wide, a smooth level plain, and the river generally runs in the middle of it, from west to east. The course of this stream is more uniform than any I have ever seen. It scarcely ever makes a bend. . . . It is full of most beautiful islands of all sizes, covered with beautiful trees, contrasting finely with the wild prairie plains and bold sand hills on each side of the river. The plain on each side of the river extends out to the sand hills, which are about three miles through them, when you ascend up to a wide

¹⁰ *House Executive Documents*, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. II, Part II, p. 658.

prairie plain of almost interminable extent. . . . All the plains are covered with grass; but the plain upon the river has not only the greatest variety, but the most rich and luxuriant grass. . . . The road will be found, upon the whole, the best road in the world, considering its length. On the Platte, the only inconvenience arising from the road is the propensity to sleep in day time. The air is so pleasant and the road so smooth that I have known many a teamster to go fast asleep in his wagon, and his team stop still in the road.¹¹

The twenty-five miles between the headwaters of the Little Blue River and the Platte was "the finest road imaginable." This was the unimproved valley roadway of the Oregon Trail, upwards of six hundred miles long. Its even surface and uniform grade, together with the perfect drainage of the soil, deserved these high encomiums.

The north and south slope of the Nebraska Country is similar to that of its immediate valley. While the elevation of the river-bed at a certain point is 2150 feet, at a point in Franklin County forty miles directly south it is 1845 feet; so that on the south side the river-bed is a shelf and not a valley. In this aspect it ceases to be human — especially politically human — for it does not and can not carry water on both shoulders. But since the manifestations of this stream are absolutely dictated by its environment, the present state of philosophical determinism denies to the Platte any credit for this negative virtue. It follows by the law of gravitation that the Platte receives not a single considerable tributary from the south, while many come in from the north. The great force of the current of the Platte, whenever or wherever it is not divided against itself, is shown by the fact that Shinn's Ferry, an important crossing of the California Trail situated some fifteen miles east of Columbus, was

¹¹ *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Vol. III, No. 4, December, 1902; pp. 412, 413, 419.

propelled by it. The boat was affixed by pulley-wheels to a rope cable at such an angle as to give the current the most effective propelling power—the same device as tacking by sails.

With the fictionist's fancy, in lieu of knowledge, Irving turned off the Platte as "the most magnificent and most useless of rivers". It is in fact neither magnificent nor useless.

General William T. Sherman's characterization is more truthful than Irving's. Being actually "up against it" at Ft. Kearney during the Indian campaign of 1866, he said with his usual impetuous impatience: "We had to cross the Platte, as mean a river as exists on earth, with its moving, shifting sands".¹²

Irving never physically saw the Platte, and distance lent enchantment to the pardonable and perhaps fortunate ignorance of his imaginary view. At high stages its broad, symmetrical flow is truly imposing to the superficial and uninitiated—so long as almost obvious shallow pretense does not change the effect of imposition. Aside from its indispensability as the main duct of the great drainage system, the Platte is useful beyond calculation in contributing by seepage an important part of that subterranean sheet of water which characterizes the Nebraska Country and which, through the miraculous medium of the windmill, has been made not merely habitable but densely so. The Platte was to Irving not only flat but stale and unprofitable, because in the wide area it traversed, when he wrote, there was no prospect of better transportation than the pack animal or the ox train, and it refused to lend itself to the then great desideratum—navigation. I have prolonged these "Platteitudes" seemingly unduly because this unique stream is the thread of my theme.

¹² *House Executive Documents*, 39th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. VI, Doc. 23, p. 5.

We now turn from the preliminary relation of the Nebraska's physical characteristics to its human associations. While on its northern flank it imposed its name with palpable legitimacy only to the limits of its watershed, on the south its conquest overran the plausible if not superior claims of the Kaw, and extended to the undoubted barrier of the watershed of the great Arkansas. From the time that it became fairly known to white people the vast territory, bounded on the north and south as already indicated — the upper line of the present State of Nebraska and the lower line of the present State of Kansas, roughly speaking — and between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains, was called by them the Nebraska Country.

In his report for the year 1844, William Wilkins, Secretary of War, gave the first official recognition to the claims of Nebraska upon its name and fame. He therein recommended organizing as a Territory all that generous part of the Louisiana Purchase bounded on the north by the Running Water (Niobrara) River to the head of its northern branch and thence running west to the Wind River chain, south along that chain and the main range of the Rocky Mountains to the head waters of the Arkansas, down the Arkansas to the mouth of the Pawnee fork, past the heads of the Osage and Neosho rivers to the mouth of the Kansas, and north along the Missouri River to the place of beginning. He further advised that "The Platte, or Nebraska, being the central stream leading into or from the Great South Pass, would very properly furnish a name to the Territory".¹³ The first bill for the organization of the Platte River Country — introduced by Douglas in December, 1844 — called the proposed Territory "Nebraska"; and in the many subsequent bills for that purpose the same name was applied.

¹³ *Senate Executive Documents*, 28th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol 1, p. 125.

In December, 1851, Mr. Hall, a member of the House of Representatives from Missouri, gave notice of his intention to introduce a bill for the organization of the same country to be called Nebraska¹⁴ Territory. But in his bill of December 13, 1852, the name Territory of Platte¹⁵ was used. The change to the ancient and orthodox name was perhaps due to Abelard Guthrie, a white adopted Wyandott, who had been elected provisional Delegate to Congress in October, 1852, for the purpose of promoting the organization of Nebraska Territory. He complained that he did not like Mr. Hall's substitute, though he didn't care much about it. But Mr. Guthrie's half-hearted sense of poetical justice and esthetic taste, which this outrage ought to have set on fire, merits our condonation because he seems to have successfully kept his promise to "try to have the old name retained". Nebraskans have a well-founded grudge against the Mallet brothers in particular and French pioneers in general for this dropping of the ancient and musical American name for their ugly translation of it. In fourteen instances the domestic name of the important river of a State has been applied to the State itself, and I know of but one other that keeps company with Nebraska's misery. In coquetting with the euphonious "Jim" River as an alternate of Dakota, our South Dakota neighbors are, I think, more culpable than Nebraska was; for in our case the alien clings with the almost inseparable tenacity of immemorial usage, while in theirs reasonable resolution would tear the usurper loose.¹⁶

¹⁴ *Congressional Globe*, 32nd Congress, 1st Session, p. 80.

¹⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 32nd Congress, 2nd Session, p. 47.

¹⁶ The fourteen fortunate States are Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Ohio, Tennessee, Wisconsin — a concord of sweet sounds, truly. It would not be amiss to prolong this strain with Colorado, since that State starts the Grand, and for some distance entertains the Green on their way to form the Colorado not far beyond her borders. Oregon, fortunately, re-

Throughout the agitation for political organization, in Missouri, which was put fairly on foot in 1852, this country was called Nebraska in a matter-of-course fashion, notwithstanding that a large section of it lay opposite that State and far below the Nebraska River. I have no further data than my conjectures set forth in the *History of Nebraska* eight years ago as to how Kansas came to supersede Nebraska in the designation of the organic act or acts of 1854.

It was apparently not until some years after its passage that Nebraska was relegated to the rear in the name of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and was thus deprived by its jayhawker neighbor of its immemorial precedence, and of the full fame or notoriety of its relation to this famous (or infamous) act. Douglas constantly referred to it as the Nebraska bill as late, at least, as the time of his debates with Lincoln in 1858; but in his noted article in Harper's Magazine of September, 1859, he commits the error of stating that the act "is now known on the statute-book as the Kansas-Nebraska act." The act is in fact entitled in the statute as "An act to organize the territories of Nebraska and Kansas"; but the Illinois Democratic convention of 1860 called the measure by its present name. The misnomer and the usurpation by Kansas of first place in the name may probably be credited to the incident that it is more easily spoken in that form and that the spectacular and tragical political procedure in "bleeding Kansas" during the years immediately following the passage of the bill gave the territory the full place in the public eye, to the exclusion of Nebraska, with the comparatively tame events of its organization.

In a resolution, introduced into the Senate of the United States by Pettit and passed July 21, 1854, for printing copies of the Nebraska bill, he called it the "Kansas and Nebraska Act"; but a resolution by Senator Chase, for printing proceedings and votes touching the bill, was called the "Nebraska and Kansas Bill".¹⁷ The

tained the stately name of her great river which, in turn, most unfortunately had a "patriotic" name forced upon it.

¹⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 33rd Congress, 1st Session, pp. 1847, 1850.

facility with which names of places are changed is illustrated by the interpolation of an "e" in the second syllable of Kearney, the name of a county and an important city of Nebraska. I can account for this corruption only by the careless ignorance of usage, local and otherwise. The name was properly spelled in the reports of the War Department until about 1865, after which the alien found nearly regular lodgment — though the *Omaha Herald* continued to spell it correctly as late as 1874.¹⁸

The statement in the opening definition of evolution, that it is a descent, admirably fits the development of Nebraska nomenclature. Matthew Arnold scolded about our "dreary nomenclature of Briggsilles, Higgensilles and Jacksonvilles"; and our own Irving protested against the perversion which has so largely robbed Nebraska of a rich heritage. Of our ninety-two counties only nine bear Indian, that is, native American names; and including these not over eighteen are named in their own right. Thirteen are misnamed after local politicians who were factitiously puffed into the brief bubble of reputation. Some two dozen are named for men of real national renown but not residents of the State. All should have been spared for local names. Ten of these are names of distinguished generals to which no exception can be taken except that they are out of place. The names of Douglas, the political father of Nebraska, of President Pierce, who signed the Organic Act, and of General Kearny are well applied.

I think there is another clear exception. A Kentucky colonel declined the proffered appointment as first Governor of the Territory, and so Butler County was named

¹⁸ The fact that the extra "e" is found in the name of the General in the index of *House Executive Documents*, 30th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. II, Doc. 8, pp. 45, 513, while in the documents themselves it is correctly spelled, shows an early tendency to go wrong.

for him — presumably and appropriately in recognition of an act nearly, if not quite, unique.

I now venture far into the field of deduction with little misgiving, inasmuch as if I go too far there is always the convenient conceit of pragmatism, which means any thing that is temporarily workable, to fall back upon. So far as we know, when white people first came to know the Nebraska Country it was occupied by five domestic tribes of Indians, with whom they never were at war, namely: Omaha, Osage, Oto and Missouri, Pawnee, and Kansas. These were well settled on either side of the lower Platte which was contiguous to their domain. On the west were the Arapaho and Cheyenne, Comanche and Kiowa, Shoshone and Bannock, and, greatest of all, the Sioux. "Everything evolves only to dissolve — so far as known facts teach us", suggestively says another evolutionary philosopher — Lafcadio Hearn. When the natural expansion of white economic desire began to evolve the first Pacific highway it instinctively grasped the territory at its base or eastern terminal — hence the treaties of 1825 with the Kansas and Osage, which took all their holdings excepting comparatively small reservations. The Kansas were completely dispossessed in 1846 and the Osage in 1865 and 1870.

The assumption of Statehood by Missouri, just before these transfers, indicated that the ever advancing white settlement would soon be ready and able to reach over into Nebraska. And the bargain-driving of William Clark, whilom chronicler and draughtsman of the great expedition, left nothing anticipatory of this need to be desired. As the country of the Oto and Missouri and the Omaha, on the north of the Kansas, lay opposite Iowa, which was not ready to reach over the Missouri yet for a quarter of a century, that was not taken over until some ten weeks before the anticipated passage of the Nebraska organic act on May 30, 1854.

In 1833 the Pawnee gave up their South Platte holdings which extended along the now developing Oregon Trail beyond the old Kansas border. They continued to hold the great central belt of Nebraska, between the Omaha and Oto and Missouri on the east and the Sioux and Arapaho and Cheyenne on the west, until the cry "Nebraska for Nebraskans" came to be heard, though as yet faintly, in 1857. Two years later pressing travel to the Pikes Peak gold region and less pressing settlement following in its wake menaced the ancestral holdings of the Arapaho and Cheyenne of Upper Arkansas and pushed them off in 1861. The fifteen years' Indian war — begun in 1864 — occasioned by the invasion of the Sioux and northern Arapaho and Cheyenne country and the consequent destruction of big game, their only meat supply, led to the relinquishment of their lands by the Sioux in 1868, 1875, and 1876; by the Northern Cheyenne and Arapaho in 1876; and by the Shoshone and Bannock in 1868. This practically closed the great Indian drama — "tragedy to him who feels, comedy to him who thinks."

The holdings of the Cheyenne and Arapaho of the Upper Arkansas were bounded by the North Platte on the north and northeast — from the forks in Nebraska up into Wyoming and down to its source in Colorado — and wholly inclosed the south fork in Nebraska and Colorado. The Shoshone and Bannock backed the North Platte on the west throughout its northerly course in Colorado and Wyoming. The Sioux territory came down to the north fork throughout its course in Nebraska and Wyoming from the forks until it met the Shoshone and Bannock at the mouth of the Sweet Water.¹⁹

Thus, until a late day the three greatest tribes west

¹⁹ *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Part II — Schedule of Cessions and Maps.* Large parts of the great Sioux reservation have been restored to the public domain since the Cession of 1876 — the largest in 1879.

of the Mississippi, having regard both to numbers and prowess, held the Nebraska River in their grasp; and they relinquished it only when compelled by the developing or evolutionary strength of their pale-face Nemesis. The term "military necessity" became familiar during our sectional war as a justification of unconstitutional or other irregular measures avowedly due to its exigencies. At this period Henry Ward Beecher liberally questioned the existence of the orthodox hell, and on one occasion an old-fashioned sectarian hotly advocated its conservation on the ground of military necessity. The extended persistency of the ferocious and formidable Cheyenne and Sioux was chiefly due to military necessity, but in a little different way. The vast expense and the other great difficulties in the way of prompt subjugation of these tribes led to and partially excused a Fabian and vacillating policy. The official literature upon this subject, especially of the years 1864-1876, is a crowded chapter of halting, bewilderment, crimination, and recrimination between the civil administration of the Indian department and the military arm of the government. The Platte Valley was the theater of this momentous struggle, whose chief aim and final end was to clear that great continental highway and rapidly developing granary of the world of its terrible incubus and confine it in comparatively small and less desirable reservations on the north and on the south. Occupancy by the whites destroyed the game and reduced some hundred thousand human beings to absolute dependence upon the relentless usurpers of their country. Perhaps the most capable people known to history fumbled through some twenty years of prodigal expenditure of money and shedding of blood, due immediately to bad faith and incompetency, to a practical solution of this difficult and singular problem. And yet, that it was finally solved — though in whatsoever noise and dust and heat — and along the lines laid down and consistently adhered to

for some ten years before the final issue, deserves much expiatory credit. The now slender remnant of these once great peoples, who have been reduced by the relentless process of social evolution, fits the phrasing of the authority invoked at the outset. "There is no golden age or happy family among animals", he observes. "One kind has always eaten another and the latter have eaten the plants which in turn eat the minerals to which they return the elements they abstract."

In the spring of 1804 William Morrison, afterward a member of the Missouri Fur Company, sent out a trading party under Baptiste LaLande, a Frenchman, which followed the Platte to the mountains and then turned south to Santa Fé. So far as we know these were the first white men to traverse the Platte Valley at great length, though the rather shadowy Mallet brothers probably ascended it a considerable distance in 1739.

The French were the first white invaders of Nebraska. Their later line of approach was from St. Louis as a base, and their line of operation was the Missouri and Platte rivers. They came to know the Missouri Valley during their ownership of Louisiana in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, and they were there trapping and trading with the Indians as early as the latter part of that century. But, presumably because the upper tribes — Arikari, Mandan, and Blackfeet on the Missouri and Cheyenne and Sioux on the Nebraska — were fiercely hostile to all invasion, they operated more regularly on the lower reaches among the tractable and friendly, because relatively weaker, Omaha, Oto and Missouri and Pawnee. The journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition mention no fixed posts in Nebraska, though their entire course along the Missouri River was liberally represented by fixed French names, and on the far upper river they met evidences of the Hudson Bay Company's occupation. A very unfortunate and inexcusable dere-

fiction on the part of our otherwise enterprising early settlers and of historical associations is their neglect to obtain and preserve what would have been invaluable data on this subject in the shape of records, personal recollections and second-hand knowledge of the traders themselves.

The French were the most comprehensive, or, perhaps, ubiquitous North American frontiersmen and colonists. It has been ably contended that the superior French conception "grasped a continent and not a sea-board and launched from New Orleans as well as Quebec expeditions which aimed at real empire, while British colonists were still huddled to the eastward of the Alleghanies. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries it was France, not Great Britain, which was thinking imperially. . . . When the British colonists at last took up their tardy march westward, the passage of the Alleghanies brought immediate contact and conflict with the French. On the Great Lakes and down the rivers of the Mississippi system the French explorers and soldiers and traders had gone. It was a thin line, of course, that stretched from Quebec to New Orleans, but it was an actual line. The initiative, the energy, the gigantic conception were all patent." And, accordingly, the failure of the French to hold this vantage ground was attributed to their military misfortunes at home. "It was not in design nor yet in American execution that France failed. America was lost in Europe."²⁰ But was it not the same characteristic capacity of the English people for holding on that drove the two great Latin nations from our continent, which also saw to it that "America was lost in Europe"? Was not the proof of the pudding in the eating? Or, more pointed if more vulgar, is it a sign of greatness to bite off more than one can chew? A noted French surgeon was enthusiastically boasting that he had performed a thousand

²⁰ *New York Sun*, July 9, 1909.

difficult operations of a certain class. When his English auditor asked him how many of them had been successful, he replied that only twenty-five cases survived but that "the operations were beautiful, beautiful!" It is said, also, by the same writer, that the same relative comprehensiveness and narrowness of plan distinguishes French and English occupancy of Africa. Possibly the Latins have learned enough from their adversity and English example to be able to prevent American history from repeating itself in Africa, but that test is yet to be made.

The return of Lewis and Clark in 1806 stimulated aggressive exploitation of the far upper Missouri, at first and most notably in 1807, by the intrepid Manuel Lisa and a still more adventuresome and picturesque personage, John Colter. Lewis and Clark had relieved Colter from Mandan bondage on their downward trip. Lisa met him near the mouth of the Platte and persuaded him to return, and from the fall of 1807 until the spring of 1810 he not only trapped in the territory of the always hostile and treacherous Blackfeet about the Three Forks but ventured across the mountains, discovering the headwaters of the Colorado, the Snake, and the Yellowstone, including the great geysers. This was the rudimentary beginning of the evolution of the Oregon Trail. Lisa established a post, called Ft. Manuel, at the confluence of the Yellowstone and Big Horn rivers.

Lisa's account of the richness in fur animals of the upper Missouri, on his return to St. Louis in 1808, backed by his concrete showing of beaver skins, led to the immediate organization of the Missouri Fur Company, whose membership included many of the famous trappers, traders, and explorers in the northwest — among them Andrew Henry. The checkered, though in part very successful, career and final virtual failure of the Missouri Fur Company must be charged to the genius of John Jacob Astor, the Rockefeller of the American fur trade,

who organized the American Fur Company in the same year. The next year Lisa, Henry, and Menard led a great company of one hundred and fifty trappers to the upper Missouri, the Yellowstone, and the Big Horn; but the inexorable Blackfeet scattered them — a part retreating to St. Louis and a part across the main mountain divide where the intrepid Henry established Henry's Fort on the north fork of the Snake River, at a spot now within Brigham County, Idaho. This was a second step in the evolutionary descent of the Trail to its final southern form. The War of 1812, during which the upper tribes were British partisans, and Lisa's death in 1820 put off the final discomfiture and discouragement of the fur traders through the upper Missouri Indians; but in the fall of 1821 Joshua Pilcher, Lisa's successor as head of the Missouri Fur Company until its final dissolution in 1830, again took up his doughty predecessor's policy of exploiting the upper Missouri, and he again established a post at the mouth of the Big Horn and named it Fort Benton. In the meantime Lisa had made the principal headquarters of his company's trade at the post called Ft. Lisa, which he established on the Missouri River, five and one-half miles below Council Bluff, not long after the year 1812. So far as we know, this was the first stable post in Nebraska, and there, by Lisa and his wife, was the first Nebraska housekeeping begun and done.

In 1819 the Federal government established Fort Atkinson — according to tradition at the Council Bluff of Lewis and Clark. I find, however, that, according to reliable maps, the latitude of the bluff taken by William Clark as given in his original journal and repeated by Biddle and by Gass, the place of the council is some twelve miles farther south than the site of the fort and only four or five miles above the site now occupied by the city of Omaha. The landscape at Fort Atkinson seems to fit the description of journalists of the expedition better than

that at any point south of it. But it is juggled figures that lie, and those in question are a simple, single record of a scientific observation. Where, then, does the burden lie touching this quite momentous question involving such slashing iconoclasm, on the record or on the landscape? Clearly, so far, on the landscape.

Fort Atkinson was established chiefly for the purpose of meeting or modifying the aggressive invasion by British fur traders of upper Missouri American territory and protecting American trade from hostile invasion. In the spring of 1822, at St. Louis, the Rocky Mountain Fur Company was established, its membership including a group of famous frontiersmen whose ability and enterprise imprinted their names all over the central Rocky Mountain region. Among them were William H. Ashley, Andrew Henry, the Sublettes — William and Milton — Jedediah Smith, Daniel E. Jackson, Etienne Provost, James Beckwourth and James (more correctly Jim) Bridger. In the spring of 1823 Ashley led a party of about one hundred up the Missouri to disastrous defeat, this time at the hands of the treacherous Arikari.²¹ Colonel Henry Leavenworth, Commandant at Fort Atkinson, thereupon started up the river with about two hundred and twenty soldiers. Major Pilcher joined him with forty of his company's men and some seven hundred and fifty Sioux and Blackfeet inspired by the hopes of plunder. At Fort Recovery Ashley's force of about eighty men was added. The attack on the villages was a fiasco — at least in its final outcome — except that they were subsequently burned, probably at Pilcher's instigation. This cumulative trouble convinced Henry of the impracticability of operating in the upper Missouri; so with a trusty band of adventurers he turned again to the trans-montane

²¹ At the villages which were situated five miles above the subsequent site of the bridge across the Missouri of the Pacific extension of the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railway.

southwest where rich beaver fields were found, and where in the fall of 1823 Provost discovered the South Pass, and in the following year Bridger discovered Great Salt Lake.

At this time commercial intercourse between the St. Louis base and the western interior began to follow regular roads, and there were two of these of the first class: one drawn and directed by the Arkansas, the other by the Platte. The introduction of the first Nebraska bill was a sign as well as an excitant of incipient rivalry between these sectional lines of travel and of the ultimate development of the Territory. It became definite in 1850 by the establishment of the Butterfield Overland Mail Company's line from St. Louis to California — a southern route, of course, because then everything was southern. After the South formally set up business for itself, everything came to the waiting Platte — first through the transfer of the Butterfield Mail Route in 1861, and the culmination in the great Pacific Railroad a few years later.

The mere discovery of the Oregon Trail as far east as the Grand Island of the Platte by the Astorians in 1812-1813, has already been noted. Recurring again to our evolutionist's dictum that "organisms are adapted to the environment, and not the environment to the organisms", we observe that the irrepressible men of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, stimulated by the still more irrepressible Blackfeet plus the rich beaver fields of the southwest Rocky Mountain basin, whose product demanded the most direct practicable outlet to the St. Louis market, were the environment that adapted the Platte River part of the Great Trail. Thus, while the Platte was the protoplasm of Nebraska, the Blackfeet were the protoplasm of the trail which led civilization into Nebraska. Pre-scientific conception or prejudice would substitute Providence for protoplasm.

In 1824 Ashley led a party of three hundred from St.

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Louis to the Green River beaver fields; but he followed the Missouri to Council Bluff, and then cutting across to the Platte kept along the south fork to the mountains. He carried his rich catch of one hundred packs of beaver by bullboat down the Big Horn and the Yellowstone to the Missouri. There he met General Atkinson's expedition of 1825 and descended to St. Louis in his boats. In the spring of 1830, Smith, Jackson, and Sublette, inspired by the demand for the most direct route, took a train of ten wagons over the Nebraska cutoff — the first wagons ever taken to the Rocky Mountains and through Nebraska. Two years later Captain Bonneville took out another train by the same route and over the South Pass — the first wagons to cross the mountains. In 1832 Nathaniel J. Wyeth, in company with the Sublettes, went through to Oregon from Independence, but he abandoned his wagons just beyond the divide. From this time the Trail proper may be regarded as established. My evolution mentor may be right in declaring that some methods of the evolutionary process, as Darwin used them, "like that of natural selection, have been discarded"; but the Oregon Trail was plainly the product of natural selection.

In the evolution of the Trail there had been a saving of quite one-third in distance, a substitution of beast power — the ox and the mule — for man power operating the keelboat, the perogue, and the bullboat, and also escape from the not inconsiderable perils by water to the comparative safety and surety of passage by land. Until 1842, when actual emigration to Oregon began, the Trail was the mere medium of commercial enterprise. Thereafter it was the great means of peopling the country from the Missouri plains to the Pacific Coast. California, Oregon, and the fur and gold fields of the intermediate Rocky Mountain region were the objective points of the great highway which followed the course of the Platte River. But it incidentally introduced agriculture into interior

W. H. C.



Nebraska which literally made that reputed desert blossom as the rose. Ranchers established themselves at the stage stations and other advantageous points along the Trail. They made hay from the native grass and raised grains and vegetables for the maintenance of the travellers. The change from the original ox trains of Bonneville and of Wyeth to Harriman's magnificent Overland Limited is forcefully suggestive and illustrative of the change wrought by white invasion on the face of the country.

Specific steps toward the Territorial organization of Nebraska were doubtless first suggested as soon as traffic over the Trail became important—for protection of that traffic as well as for the motive, not so clearly defined, perhaps, at the first, of preparing for settlement. Wilkins expressly stated in his recommendation that one object of formal control of the Nebraska Country by the general government was “to throw its protection around our emigrants to Oregon in their passage through this country”.²² And Douglas gave as a reason for introducing his bill of 1844 that it was time to stop dumping Indians in Nebraska.²³ The debate on the Richardson bill in 1853 clearly brings out these motives—not only of providing for the settlement of the country, but primarily, perhaps, to conserve the northern road to the Pacific—and especially to Oregon—and to make way for the already much mooted Pacific Railroad.²⁴

The Nebraska question has been enlightened in the main by eastern historians, from an eastern point of view and with the eastern bias. A late exhaustive work upon the repeal of the Missouri Compromise²⁵ gives in-

²² *Senate Executive Documents*, 29th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. I, p. 126.

²³ *Cutts's Constitutional and Party Questions*, pp. 90-92.

²⁴ Watkins in the *Illustrated History of Nebraska*, Vol. I, p. 137.

²⁵ *Ray's The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise*, pp. 144, 150.



formation in exhausting detail to prove with more than judicial minuteness what is natural and palpable from a superficial view — that the border State of Missouri took an early and active interest in the organization of Nebraska for the purposes in question. But the eastern predilection painfully appears in the determination to shut out Douglas and his powerful lieutenants from Iowa in both houses of Congress from an initiatory or leading part in that enterprise. While the “after taking” boast of the garrulous and unreliable Atchison that he repealed the Compromise is accepted as conclusive, the statement of Douglas that he had pushed the project of organization for eight years and that “it is very dear to my heart” is rejected because it is the dictum of Douglas — who was ambitious. While Douglas had already personally introduced three organization bills, real activity in that enterprise began in Missouri only in 1852; and in the following year Richardson, the powerful lieutenant and political legatee of Douglas, presented a bill and pushed it through the House. But even the prowess of Douglas was unable to call it up in time in the Senate.

At the first opening of the following session Senator Dodge, another constant and powerful ally of Douglas in the Nebraska project, introduced in the Senate the bill which, with the very important historical changes made by Douglas, became the Kansas-Nebraska act. Senator Dodge and Mr. Henn, his contemporary member of the House of Representatives from Iowa, made the most persistent and cogent arguments not only for the passage of the bill itself but for the division into two Territories that were heard in the final debate, while upon the question of division the members from Missouri were silent. To say that Missouri coöperated in organizing Nebraska is simply taking the trouble to aver that water runs down hill. Even if the Missouri Paul planted, it palpably appears that the Douglas-Iowa Apollos not only

watered but was the God that gave the increase. A party of Americans were doing the Tower of London when, in due course, their attendant, pointing out some old cannon, boastfully remarked that the British had captured them at Bunker Hill. A Yankee girl in the party promptly retorted, "But I reckon we kept the hill."²⁸

Local data have been adduced which clearly discredit the predestined dictum of the historians — including even the authoritative Rhodes — that division was born of the purpose of giving Kansas over to slavery and show that local sectional reasons account for it, though it may well be that Atchison and other pro-slavery members were glad to have Kansas separated in the hope of exploiting it for slavery. Henn and Benton, as well as Douglas, pointed out that Kansas and Nebraska would inevitably be peopled by a movement from west to east with a south-westerly trend. Since these settlers would be in the main opposed to slavery there was no danger that it could be imposed upon either Kansas or Nebraska. The passage of anti-slavery laws by the legislatures of both these Territories and by the votes of both Democrats and Repub-

²⁸ Dixon gave notice of his amendment January 16, providing that citizens of the several States and Territories should be at liberty to take and hold their slaves within any of the Territories of the United States or of the States to be formed therefrom, "as if the said act [Missouri Compromise] had never been passed." January 24th Dixon principally pressed the bill as if he had always wanted the opportunity.—*Congressional Globe*, 33rd Congress, 1st Session, p. 239. Douglas said that he supposed Dixon's amendment affirmatively legislated slavery into the Territories, but was glad to learn now — from Dixon's remarks just preceding — that he did not so intend. Dixon said that his amendment was intended to carry out the principles of 1850, "which leave the whole question of slavery with the people, and without any congressional interference."—*Congressional Globe*, 33rd Congress, 1st Session, p. 240. Douglas emphasized the defeat in the House of Representatives of his bill extending the Missouri Compromise line west through the Mexican acquisition, which passed the Senate, as responsible for the trouble which led to the new compromise of 1850.—*Congressional Globe*, 33rd Congress, 1st Session, p. 276.

licans vindicated the practical effectiveness of the squatter sovereignty theory.

In Nebraska's political evolution her great river became a dividing instead of a unifying force. As early as the next year after organization J. Sterling Morton introduced into the lower house of the Nebraska legislature a resolution favoring the annexation of that part of the Territory south of the Platte to Kansas, giving as reasons therefor that the river was an impassable barrier to communication between the two sections of the Territory. The real impulse to this agitation had been given by the abduction of the capital from Bellevue to Omaha through the influence of Council Bluffs interests, which owned the Omaha town site. Since up to the time of the passage of the act for the organization of the Territory, Nebraska was "Indian Country" from which white settlement was interdicted by law, the work of establishing a government was done very largely by citizens of adjacent Iowa. Emissaries from Mills County impersonated the South Platte section, while like proxies from the next northern county of Pottawattamie represented the North Platte. Experience Estabrook, the first Attorney General of the Territory, avowed that nine members of the first legislature were residents of Glenwood, the county seat of Mills County, and that they never became citizens of Nebraska. On his arrival in the Territory Governor Burt chose Bellevue for his domiciliary capital; but before he had carried out his undoubted design to establish the capital there he died from the strain upon his delicate constitution occasioned by the difficult carpetbag journey from his South Carolina home.

Thomas B. Cuming, Secretary of the Territory, who succeeded to the power of Burt as Acting Governor, was the next friend of the Council Bluffs and Nebraska Ferry Company whose necessity for a trans-Missouri terminus became the mother of the invention of the cap-

ital at Omaha. While Bellevue, the South Platte's choice, sentimentally exploited the beauty of her site and virtuously pressed her demonstrable superiority as a railroad crossing, the Ferry Company used more direct and persuasive arguments upon the susceptible Governor, who districted the two sections to the inequitable advantage of the North Platte, thus opening the way for Council Bluffs to do the rest. In this notable battle the hand of Providence — in the removal of Governor Burt — as well as the heavier artillery of Council Bluffs which, according to the Napoleonic dictum, usually suffices to win, gave victory to the minority and the mammon of unrighteousness. This victory yielded to the merely potential Omaha prestige and other means which gained, in 1868, the second decisive struggle with Bellevue, namely, that for the Missouri crossing and the virtual terminus of the first Pacific Railroad. In 1867 the more populous South Platte had carried off the capital, but not until it had been instrumental in securing the commercial supremacy to the exemplar of abduction — a matter of paramount importance. As the North Platte emporium gains trade and riches, the South Platte capital keeps pace in political and educational importance. After all, it is the old story of compensatory adjustment. The traditional arbiter of the fortunes of the Nebraska Country has about evenly divided urban honors between its great bilateral sections.

This sectional hostility, thus begun, resulted in a formal attempt to carry out the annexation project in 1858 and 1859. At first Kansas encouraged and accepted the advances of the insurgent territory; but at the last, for evidently satisfactory political reasons, they were rejected. The literature of the discussions of annexation teems with demonstrations of the desirability of separation on account of this physical barrier. The shibboleth was "Let no man join those whom God hath put asunder."

The practical culmination of this new turn in the influence of the Platte was the snatching of the capital away from Omaha in 1867 and the projection of the present City of Lincoln upon the open prairies to receive it. The State of Iowa undertook a similar enterprise, but, whether on account of less nerve or more sound sense than Nebraska evinced, abandoned it. Though the bridging of the Platte at will, which followed prosperity and resultant pecuniary ability, has removed the original foundation for sectional division, it still survives, in some sort, through the inertia of tradition and prejudice.

Nebraska has evolved into an agricultural country of unexcelled productiveness against the inertia of original unbelief. Owing to the superficial observation of the early travelers, it was persistently preached and believed that the Territory was incapable of supporting a stable population farther than forty to sixty miles back from the Missouri River. The imagination of Irving, Cooper, and the French Marbois vividly flashed the fancy of the Great American Desert all over the world; and reports of many other explorers who ought to have known better scientifically demonstrated its agricultural worthlessness. Yet all of these prophets, whether by hearsay or by exploration, told extravagant stories of the vast herds of antelope, buffalo, and deer which these unproductive plains were supporting. It is one of the surprises of a country whose progress has been little less than wonder that these prophets were incapable of seeing or reasoning that two and two make four — of arriving at the easy conclusion that the Territory which in its wild state supported countless numbers of wild cattle, in its tame state, touched by the skill of the trained agriculturalist, would be able to support many more millions of tame cattle and thus become the central shambles and granary of the world.

THE STATE HISTORICAL MUSEUM

BY CHARLES E. BROWN

The increasing public attention and support which the municipal museums are now receiving in many cities of the eastern United States, and the rapidly widening sphere of their influence in the field of popular education, now appears to demand a similar advance on the part of the State historical museums. The great educational value of the former institutions is no longer questioned; the latter as a class do not at present enjoy any particular public prominence as educational mediums. For years it has been their fortune to serve for the most part merely as storehouses, or as showplaces for such articles connected with the history of their States as a limited number of generous and appreciative friends were willing to entrust to their safe-keeping.

All of these institutions are facing much the same difficulties. They are very poorly provided with funds, and are in consequence on the whole but poorly administered. Their development has been slow because their needs and their special field of public usefulness is just beginning to be fully understood. The historical libraries by the rapid growth in the number of their volumes, and the extent and character of their patronage, have in most States quite overshadowed and outstripped the museums. To regain lost ground and to place the latter in point of public appreciation and usefulness on an equal footing with the libraries should now deserve the attention of the State historical societies and of the States of whose archives they are the custodians.

An examination of the records now available shows

that of twenty State historical societies in this Association's territory sixteen now maintain museums. The foundation of several of these museums was laid fifty or more years ago; a number have been in existence for from seven to twenty-five years. Several are the possessors of extensive and valuable collections. Some are in charge of officers possessing an excellent knowledge of museum administration, while others are being cared for by attendants or by other employees of the State historical societies who devote but a portion of their time to furthering the museum's work.

Archaeological investigations have received the attention of several State historical societies, and from the results of these their museums have greatly profited. Several employ trained archaeologists for this purpose. Ohio has won distinction by the extent and quality of her archaeological collections, representative exhibits of which have been displayed at several great national exhibitions. The State museums of Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Kansas, and Tennessee are widely known for the wealth of their archaeological collections. The Louisiana Society has a great collection of Confederate relics. Of the twenty museums mentioned but this one appears to possess a collection of purely historical materials, which for its completeness is known far beyond the borders of its State. Several historical societies also conduct local ethnological researches. All of those which still have the opportunity recognize the need of collecting and conserving representative local collections of such materials.

SCOPE AND PURPOSE

Every museum should have a definite aim. The State historical museums should confine their activities to the field which, in the division into departments of the labors of the State historical societies, it was planned

that they should cover. Their proper function is the preservation of objects and collections illustrative of the history, aboriginal and other, of their respective States, and the exhibition and use of these in such a manner as to contribute in the greatest possible measure to the advancement of education. It was never intended that they should become general museums. They have neither the funds nor the space to undertake so broad a range of labor. Natural history materials are best cared for in the municipal or university research museums.

The field of local history and prehistory in every State is so very broad and attractive, and the impression made upon it as yet so slight, as to demand the entire attention and resources of the historical museum. Intrusion into other fields than their own means but a waste of money and effort. The sooner that we can divorce ourselves and our patrons from the idea that our museums are general museums, the more rapid and decided will be our progress in our own field of endeavor. Among the most successful of our American museums are those which specialize. Among all classes of museums there is now a growing tendency in this direction. History is being made everywhere. The commonplace objects of to-day will become the historical treasures of coming generations of our citizens. The State historical museum must keep pace with the changes in the customs and industries of the people of its region.

THE STATE HISTORICAL MUSEUM OF WISCONSIN

The history of the State Historical Museum of Wisconsin, the oldest institution of its kind in the Mississippi Valley, furnishes an illustration of the manner in which museums of its class are frequently founded and developed. During the first organization of the Society (1849-1853) no museum was maintained, the Society's only property consisting of a small library, which was housed

in a glass case placed upon a table in the Governor's office.

After the Society's reorganization on January 18, 1854, contributions of specimens and portraits began slowly to come in, the accessions being noticed in the printed annual reports of the organization. As was to be expected the collections thus formed were of a very miscellaneous character. They included mounted birds and mammals, coins, medals, minerals, fossils, plants, war and Indian relics, and a large number of curiosities of all kinds. To distinguish them from the growing library the collections were then known as the Cabinet and Gallery, a title which they bore until after 1886, when it was abandoned for the more appropriate and descriptive designation of Museum.

At the time of the removal of the Society to the capitol building in 1884, the Museum had already become a leading State attraction. Of the thousands of citizens, who on some errand or other journeyed to Madison each year, a very large number sought the State Museum for purposes of entertainment or instruction. There can be no question but that, notwithstanding the then character and condition of its collections, the Museum served a worthy and valuable purpose in instilling into the minds of many of its frequenters a love of natural science and history.

At that time, owing to the fact that the Society's income was very small, the Museum's caretakers were political appointees, being men selected for this position by the successive superintendents of public property. They were changed with the changes in the State administration. When one was found who showed a genuine interest in the Museum and any special aptitude for its work, he was regarded as more or less of a jewel. On the whole, these early caretakers, sadly deficient as all of them were in historical and museological knowledge and

training, served the Society and Museum faithfully and to the best of their ability.

Previous to the removal of the Society to its present fine building, there came the far-sighted determination that in the character of its collections the Museum was attempting to cover too extensive a field. It was considered that its collections would increase much more rapidly in educational value if more restricted in their nature. Thus the natural history materials and "curiosities" were disposed of and only the historical and anthropological collections retained.

The entire upper floor of the new building was set aside for the occupation of the Museum, forty-five cases being built for the reception of its collections. These quarters, which contain two large and six smaller exhibition halls, and adjoining curator's office, store rooms, dark room, laboratory, and public toilet rooms, it still occupies. Thus it was at last properly housed. So insufficient however were the Society's funds that not until the beginning of the year 1908 was it found possible to place the Museum on an equal footing with the library and other departments of the Society's work. Since that date it has had its own chief, who devotes his attention to its progressive development. In consequence of these important changes in its administration, the Museum's growth has been rapid. During the year 1909, its acquisitions more than doubled in number those of any year of its history.

The Museum is to-day one of the best patronized public exhibition places in the State, and is rapidly taking prominent rank as an educational institution. Owing to its location it is enabled to maintain close working relationships with the State University. Its chief aim is popular education along the line of Wisconsin history. Located in a city of nearly 30,000 inhabitants, it is now making every effort to minister to the educational needs

of both the population of the city and of the State at large. It is endeavoring to meet the wants of the several classes of its visitors which include school children, university students, and citizens. In the succeeding pages of this paper I will strive to convey to you an idea of our Museum's present work and future plans, treating these with reference to the needs, as now understood, of all State museums of its class.

PERMANENT COLLECTIONS

I am not aware that any methodical scheme for the classification of the permanent collections of a State historical museum along strictly historical lines has yet been proposed for an American museum of this character. Most of our larger historical museums undoubtedly do have at least a vaguely outlined exhibition plan which they attempt to follow. It is however but seldom, if ever, clearly apparent to the outsider in either the character or the manner of display of their collections.

In Wisconsin we have under consideration a gradual reorganization of the Museum, by means of which we hope in time to be able to present to the visitor a systematic and continuous exposition of our State's history and prehistory. When carried out it will mean that a number of our present collections must be remodelled, that the development of others must be undertaken, and that some must be checked in their growth and others perhaps suppressed. Under the scheme of classification proposed the collections and miscellaneous materials at present in the Museum's possession, and those to be acquired in the future, would be arranged under three principal divisions, illustrating the several most important periods of our State's history, as follows:

1. Period of Prehistoric Indian Occupation.
2. Period of Historic Indian Occupation.
3. Period of White Occupation.

For purposes of comparison outside materials and collections will be required, but these will be of such character and so subordinated and disposed as not to obscure the local character of the institution. A common mistake of some of the smaller museums, it appears, is that their collections of outside materials are apt to be more extensive or valuable in character than those obtained from and explanatory of the history or natural history, as the case may be, of their own territory.

Wisconsin is well known to be rich in archaeological remains of a very interesting character. Of these our Museum already possesses an extensive and valuable collection; and a fairly comprehensive exposition of the State's archaeological history is therefore already possible. The foundation of an instructive collection of local historic Indian materials has recently been laid. When completed and installed in their final form it should be possible by means of these to present in the order of their importance, possibly in separate cases, the complete local history of each of the Wisconsin tribes. Taken collectively they would serve to illustrate the Indian history of the entire State. Of articles illustrative of the white man's arrival in and conquest of Wisconsin soil we already have a rich and varied store. It is thus already possible to devote special cases and spaces in the Museum to such phases of the State's historic development as its military history, its educational history, its agricultural history, its religious history, the history of railroading, of steamboating, of the fur trade, of fire fighting, etc.

The nuclei of many similar series and collections are present, and as these are gradually developed they can be installed in the proper place in the Museum halls. It will be seen that under this plan of development many articles which might otherwise be cast aside as of little value for museum purposes find their proper place in

some one of the various collections and become valuable links in the chain of their development.

It is apparent that under this system nearly every visitor, no matter what his trade, profession, or special object or interest in life, will find in the museum some series or collection which will particularly appeal to him and possibly encourage him to greater efforts in his chosen field of moral, educational, or industrial endeavor. For the museum itself it offers the decided advantage of enabling it to find what it stands greatly in need of — men and women and associations who will stand sponsor for the development in the public's interest of collections in which they themselves should be deeply concerned.

Under an ideal scheme of classification as that proposed the visitor would be led by easy successive steps to fully comprehend the history of the State in which the particular institution is situated. Its collections would become, as they should be, a permanent record of the progress of its inhabitants in the world of thought, of culture, and of industry.

We realize of course that such is the present financial support received by our institutions, their manner of administration, the character of their quarters, and their present collections that it will be a long time before they can more than attempt so philosophical a classification. Only through the continued expenditure of thought, energy, and money can it be accomplished. Our States owe it to their citizens that their educational institutions should be of the highest standard, and to this end adequately supported.

USE OF THE HISTORICAL MUSEUM

The historical museum should be a bureau of information to all persons seeking historical knowledge. It should not only be able and willing to disseminate reliable information to those who come of their own accord

to drink at its fount, but should also resort to every reasonable expedient to draw and retain the interest of those who do not. In the past two years of our own Museum's history, we have been doing considerable experimenting with a view to increasing the attendance and usefulness of the institution to residents of Madison and of the State. With this end in view we prepared during the year 1908-1909 a series of special exhibitions. These were arranged to illustrate the following and other subjects:

Indian Agriculture.

Indian Fishing.

Steamboating Days on the Upper Mississippi River.

The Evolution of Indian Jewelry.

Wisconsin's Participation in the War of Secession.

Each of these exhibits was very carefully prepared as to specimens, labels, photographs, prints, maps, and other illustrative matter employed. The installations were made in the most attractive and instructive manner possible. The specimens employed were taken from among the Museum's permanent collections and duplicates, or secured through temporary loans from various citizens. According to their size or the curator's desire these exhibits, which were made during different times in the year, each occupied one or several cases.

The Museum benefitted from these special exhibits in the following ways:— By the greatly increased number of its visitors. Many persons were attracted to its halls who had never before taken the time or the pains to visit the Museum. Some of these have frequently attended since. The attendance of school children and of university students was particularly large and encouraging. The curator was permitted to make the acquaintance of many teachers and of influential citizens of the city and State, and to interest them in the work and needs of the Museum. The preparation of the exhibits

also enabled him to greatly increase his knowledge of local collections, to some of which the Museum has since fallen heir. Of the specimens loaned for the purposes of the exhibits, not a few were afterwards donated.

A special loan exhibition of Indian, American, and foreign dolls, made during the months of June and July, attracted State-wide attention. The special purpose of this exhibition was to illustrate the historical, ethnological, and pedagogical value and interest of that most ancient toy, the doll. An entire room in the Museum was given over to this exhibition, its furnishings of pictures and hangings being in harmony with the display. Six single and double cases were required for the reception of the over 600 specimens shown. These were secured through the courtesy of several hundred persons, residents of Madison and of other Wisconsin cities, being selected from among over 1,000 specimens offered. Some came through patrons in other nearby States, and a few, of exceptional interest, were brought from distant States. The foreign dolls, which constituted over half of the exhibit, were arranged by countries, the Indian dolls by tribes, and the American dolls in chronological order.

The Museum found itself wholly unprepared to welcome the number of visitors who came to see this exhibition. As nearly as could be estimated, the attendance during the month of June alone reached the number of 5,000. It even became necessary to open the Museum on one Sunday afternoon to accommodate a large number of citizens, who could not attend during the week days. A number of school classes from the city and country schools attended with their teachers, and to these talks were given in the exhibit hall. Teachers also came from many nearby towns.

This exhibition entailed, as may be supposed, a great amount of additional work for the curator and those assisting him, but the results were such as to make all feel

fully repaid for this extra effort. Nearly every exhibitor and many visitors have become through it permanent friends of the Museum. Through it an increased interest in the institution's work has been manifested in many distant sections of the State. The great success of last year's special exhibition has induced the preparation of a number of others during the present year. These have included up to the present time, exhibitions illustrative of:

George Rogers Clark and his Time.

Herb Medicines of the Pioneers.

Use of Gourd Vessels by Savage and Semi-civilized Peoples.

Work of the Bureau of American Republics.

Autograph Letters of Wisconsin Governors.

Brazil and Her People.

Two of these exhibits were made in connection with lectures and work of the university courses of commerce and of pharmaceutical botany. On Washington's Birthday a special exhibit of articles connected with the nation's first President and of his time was made. The most important and extensive of these special exhibitions was one just discontinued, which was illustrative of the "Footwear of the World". This proved almost as instructive and attractive as the doll exhibit of the previous year.

SCREEN EXHIBITS

An equally instructive feature of our exhibits are the so-called screen exhibits. These consist of collections or series of photographs, prints, or drawings, and are selected to illustrate some historical or anthropological subject. Each exhibit is accompanied with an explanatory typewritten label and with references to the literature. These are mounted upon wooden burlap-covered screens or display boards. The screens now in use are of

two sizes the smallest being four and one-half feet square and the largest eight and one-half feet long and four and one-half feet high. To these the matter constituting the bulletin is fastened. Each screen is supported by two stout wooden legs which elevate it to a convenient height. Three or more of these screen bulletins are constantly on exhibition in our halls. They can be placed in unoccupied spaces or in corners. They are also useful on occasion in partitioning off parts of the halls. After being shown for a time in the Museum, these screen bulletins are frequently loaned to schools or libraries. This latter service is made possible through the coöperation of the Wisconsin Free Library Commission, which has assisted in their circulation. As a suggestion of the subjects illustrated in some of the recent bulletins, there may be mentioned:

The Making of Fire.

Lumber Rafting on the Wisconsin River.

Ogalala Beadwork Patterns.

Archaeological Features of Wisconsin.

The Winnebago Tribe.

The Ruins of Mitla.

Fort Ancient.

The Wisconsin Reservation Chippewa.

In the main halls of the Museum is placed a bulletin board, upon which notices of the meetings of the State and local historical societies, notices of lectures, the monthly Museum accession lists, lists of recent historical literature, requests for special classes of specimens, newspaper clippings, photographs, and other matter of special interest to the visitor and student are posted. A reading table has also been provided. This is kept supplied with a limited amount of selected historical, archaeological, and museological literature. These works are freely consulted by visitors.

The number of university students and pupils of the

public schools now making intelligent use of the Museum is quite large and is gradually increasing. To them every facility which we at present possess for study and research is being extended. In order to meet their wants many additions to the collections are constantly being made. These have become an added spur to our progress.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLLECTIONS

Specimens and collections are acquired by our Museum in the following several ways: through gift, deposit, exploration, exchange, and purchase. Gifts and deposits we invite through advertisements of our needs in the State Historical Society's annual proceedings, through the distribution of handbooks, circulars, and cards, and through frequent articles and notices in the local and State press. Many specimens are solicited by the curator by mail or in person from citizens known or suspected of possessing articles which are required. The responses are numerous and often generous. Other materials are acquired as a result of collecting trips made by the curator to various sections of the State. These pilgrimages and the talks which are frequently given en-route have the effect of interesting many persons in the work of both the Museum and the Society.

We find it both desirable and necessary to keep in close touch with hundreds of private collectors. For the purpose of keeping track of them we keep a card file in which their names and addresses, the character and value of their collections, and other information concerning them are noted. We encourage their visits to the Museum and frequently aid them with advice and helpful literature. As a result of the friendly relations maintained we frequently obtain their duplicate specimens and articles not within the range of their own collecting and finally their collections.

We require all persons who desire to present or

loan articles to the Museum to first fully inform us of their nature, exercising at all times the right to reject any specimens which may be foreign to our purposes or too cumbersome or otherwise unsuited for our use. This requires the exercise of considerable tact and judgment, as the giving of offence to generously minded citizens is at all times to be avoided. By keeping the public continually informed of our aims and of needs we prevent the acquisition of undesirable articles. On all articles of a desirable nature we offer to pay the freight or express. Under a coöperative arrangement with the University all persons offering gifts of natural history or geological materials are now referred to that institution.

Immediately upon the receipt of a specimen the donor or depositor receives an acknowledgement assuring him of our appreciation of his interest and generosity. Prompt attention to this duty pleases and encourages the giver and frequently secures additional gifts.

As our funds are as yet very limited, only a small number of specimens and occasional collections can be acquired each year through purchase. We asked the State legislature of 1909 to appropriate the modest annual sum of \$3,500 for the better administration and growth of the Museum. This measure met with the approval of the majority of the legislators but the appropriation asked for was not granted at that time because of the unusual number and size of the financial demands made by other State institutions. A succeeding legislature will be better acquainted with our Museum and its mission and value as an educational institution and will, we trust, take measures to provide for the continuance and extension of its work.

It is a part of our plan to interest a number of the State's wealthy men and women in standing sponsor for the development of certain collections and series in which,

for various reasons, they should be specially interested. These collections will thus become permanent monuments to their personal interest in the advancement of history and education. The larger museums of our country no longer lack for patrons of this kind and to the stimulus of the fund derived from such sources is largely due their present remarkable development. It has not occurred as yet to many wealthy residents of our State that the State historical museums, although State supported, really derive but a shamefully meagre amount of assistance from that source and that even small sums of money presented for the increase of their collections would be the means of distributing educational benefits to thousands of their fellow citizens.

Some specimens reach our Museum each year as a result of archaeological investigations conducted in the local field by the curator. With larger means at our command such researches could be greatly extended. A fruitful method of increasing our collections is through the conducting of exchanges with other museums and with individual collectors. Six important collections and a number of specimens were added by this means in 1909.

The total accessions of our Museum for that year amounted to about 2,000 specimens — an excellent showing, especially when we remember that nearly every article acquired was accepted because of its special fitness for the Museum's purposes and not simply because someone wished to present it. When it is considered that the Museum had been fully organized at this time, with an executive of its own for but a single year, this item of growth becomes more impressive and clearly indicates the progress which can be made by the systematic and intelligent management of the affairs of any small museum.

RECORDS

As specimens are received they are entered in an ac-

cession record similar to those in use in all well-regulated museums. After receiving a number they are ready for exhibition or storage as desired. Any correspondence, clippings, labels, catalogues, or other matter explanatory of them are filed in a stout manila envelope of the kind now in use in some museums and known as an "Information File". This bears the same number as the specimen. For specimens which are loaned or deposited a separate record is kept. We are preparing to supplement the record books with a card file, in which cards representing each specimen or a series of specimens can be filed under appropriate headings, and related specimens thus quickly located when desired. This file will be accessible to students in the curator's office, when desired.

The question of a proper storage system for the storage of unused or duplicate materials deserves consideration. As our overflow is not yet large and our storage room ample for our present needs this matter has not yet caused us any great amount of worry. At the present time shelf lists are kept, by means of which lots of specimens or single specimens are quickly located, when required.

EXHIBITION METHODS

Upon the intelligent arrangement of the collections of the museum their interest and educational value depend. Modern museum science demands that these should not be merely an assemblage of unrelated objects, but an orderly and understandable exhibition of historical facts. Before attempting the installation of any collection a thorough knowledge of the subject to be illustrated should be acquired, a working plan prepared and this carried out to the fullest extent that the materials and space available will warrant. The arrangement may be systematic without being inartistic. It should be borne in mind that quality rather than the quantity of articles in a case is to

be sought. Crowded collections serve only to puzzle and tire the visitor. The instructiveness and attractiveness of any collection are greatly enhanced by the display among its specimens of appropriate maps, photographs, and prints. Pictures and miniature models may also take the place in the collection of specimens which are of too large a size for advantageous display. Each case should be provided with explanatory class and division labels and each specimen with a plainly printed individual label. In all the larger museums these are now printed by press; the small museums, on account of the cost, still continue to use hand-printed labels. Labelling is in itself an art. The curator's experience must dictate the character and quality of the information to be given on each label. Those employed throughout the museum should be of standard sizes and of such a quality of cardboard as will bear exposure to the light.

The curator must be constantly on the lookout for specimens to fill gaps and to replace poor material in the collections; and rearrangements of at least a portion of many collections may be necessary from time to time. In the large museums, especially in the eastern States, the plan of installing collections under proper environmental conditions has been long employed to great public educational advantage. One of the greatest attractions of the Wisconsin Museum is a reproduction of a colonial kitchen with its complete furnishings of fireplace, furniture, cooking utensils, etc. By means of this arrangement objects of the most commonplace nature are rendered interesting and instructive. It is our intention to make some further experiments in this direction.

CASES

The style and serviceability of the cases of the historical museum require careful consideration. In our Museum we employ both wall and table cases. The former

are placed directly against the walls of certain of the exhibition halls and are seven feet in height, from three and one-half to fourteen feet in length, and from one and one-half to two and one-half feet in width. The fronts are removable, being held in place by screws. This last feature is an objectionable one as the task of removing them is necessarily somewhat slow, and otherwise troublesome. Wall cases are at present being employed for the exhibition of our growing collections of Indian historical materials, and of our collection of war history materials. The specimens are displayed by being fastened to the case backs, but in such manner as will permit of their ready removal when desired for lecture or study purposes. In the future reinstallation of these collections we may decide to employ the false wooden backs or frames at present in use in the Field and in some other museums. These are so constructed that they can be readily removed from the cases and the installation of an exhibit conducted in the privacy of the laboratory.

Our collections of Indian crania, earthenware, and basketry are at present displayed in wall cases fitted with glass shelving. Several exhibition cases of a square form are in use for the exhibition of models and of other articles of large size. These have glass tops which are supported upon legs or upon wooden bases. The most generally useful of our cases are the table cases. We employ several styles. The smallest are seven feet long, two and one-half feet wide, and are mounted on a table two and one-half feet high. The tops are hinged and are supported when opened by folding brass supports. A second style of table case is just double the length of the former. A few double table cases are also in use. These open from both sides.

Of the several styles of table cases our experience has shown that the first mentioned are the most convenient and generally serviceable. They are of the proper size

for the exhibition of small collections, are economical as to use of floor space, and may be used in almost any place, on the floor or against a wall or partition. They are easily moved or transported. In our latest examples of these cases we have added a drawer which is very useful for the storage of duplicate, or unused specimens, or reserve collections. For the exhibition of some of our collections of photographs or prints we use swing frames with glass fronts, which are hinged to the walls.

LECTURES

To most museums lecture halls have now become a necessary adjunct. One of the most spacious of our Museum halls is much employed for this purpose. It is at the same time our portrait gallery in which are preserved oil portraits of the pioneer residents of the Commonwealth. Here the annual meetings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin are held. In this room also, by the courtesy of the Society, the art exhibitions of the Madison Art Association, which is endeavoring to encourage a public appreciation of art, are conducted. This Association holds four or more exhibitions each year, each lasting for about a week. These exhibitions are always very well managed and successful affairs. Other local associations are also occasionally accorded the privilege of making public exhibitions in this hall. Last year an exhibition of articles connected with the colonial and revolutionary periods of American history was made by the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. It also was greatly appreciated by the public. Several lectures and talks were given during its continuance by prominent members of the Society.

Owing to the demands made upon the time of the Museum Chief, no regular schedule of school lectures has yet been arranged. The lectures given to schools at the present time are usually by special arrangement of a

teacher or teachers with this officer, or at his invitation or suggestion. Country schools frequently come to the Museum without any previous notice of their coming being received, and they are accommodated with informal talks. When the Museum is visited by university classes they are lectured to by their own professors or instructors. Each year, a number of illustrated lectures upon a variety of historical or archaeological subjects are delivered by both the Secretary of the Society, and the Museum Chief before schools, local historical societies, women's clubs and other organizations in various cities of the State. These lectures are free, the bodies before whom they are given meeting the expenses.

Requests for lecture outlines and material are received by the Museum from various sources. The number of such requests is steadily increasing. We endeavor to aid all applicants to the full extent of our resources. Prepared lectures are also loaned to some of these. Several series of lantern slides, which we possess, are also occasionally loaned.

PUBLICATIONS

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin publishes a series of bulletins of information which are in constant demand by teachers and associations engaged in the study of local history, thus at present relieving the Museum of this duty. The Museum is also a distributing center for the publications of the Wisconsin Archaeological Society. Not a few of these contain articles especially prepared with the idea of aiding the teacher or local study clubs.

TRAVELING COLLECTIONS

To meet the needs, especially of the schools which because of their distant location are unable to avail themselves of our permanent collection, we have under consideration as an experiment the preparation and circulation of small traveling collections of specimens. In a

number of the larger cities of the country, where wide-awake municipal museums exist, selected collections of mounted birds, of insects, Indian stone implements, minerals, and economic materials are thus circulated among the public and other schools and are an acknowledged help to the teachers in illustrating lectures and talks in the class-room. There appears to be no good reason why the State historical museums should not also enter this fruitful field. It is my personal opinion that such collections can be circulated to the great profit of both the schools and the museum itself. Strong wooden boxes will serve to hold the specimens, which can be selected from among the museum's duplicates. Appropriate literature and photographs, or other illustrations, can accompany each collection.

We hope finally to be in a position to make occasional temporary loans, when desired, to other historical museums of small collections of objects illustrative of some phase of our State's archaeology or history, in return for similar service. For several years past such series, but consisting chiefly of photographs, drawings, and maps, have been loaned to the smaller museums and libraries in our own State with excellent results.

AUXILIARY AND OTHER MUSEUMS

In our State the museum idea is growing rapidly. In the past few years small museums or public collections have sprung into existence in quite a number of Wisconsin cities and are becoming helpful adjuncts to their educational systems. The majority of these are now housed in the public library buildings and are being cared for by their officers. A few others are at present located in schools, court houses, and in other public buildings. Several of these small museums — notably those at Baraboo, and Darlington and Green Bay — are maintained by the county historical societies auxiliary to the State Histor-

ical Society. In the founding and development of others, members and officers of the State Historical Society and Wisconsin Archaeological Society have taken, or are taking, a prominent part. Just as the Society's library endeavors to establish and to maintain intimate and cordial relations with the public libraries of the State so its museum is endeavoring to lend its advice and assistance to these budding local museums. Toward these its position has recently been defined as follows:—

It feels justified (as the trustee of the State) on the ground of public policy in holding to the conviction that the State Historical Museum should always rank first as an exposition of the history of the Commonwealth. It is equally solicitous that local museums should be established throughout the State as commonly as are now public libraries. There is no reason why one should not be as well managed and progressive as the other. In a few years local museums are sure to be organized in many cities in many States where none now exist. The State museums will have the opportunity to direct and aid these in their development. To them the State museum should serve as a model. They should profit under its guidance and direction. In order to secure the greatest efficiency and economy in their management special courses in museology should be given at the State library schools or at the universities.

CO-OPERATION

It is greatly to be regretted that there is now so little coöperation among the historical museums administered by the different State historical societies. The curators or other officers having immediate charge of these are almost unknown to each other. Beyond the scant information conveyed in the reports and proceedings of the State societies we possess but very little knowledge of the progress which each is making or of the problems which con-

front them. There is but little exchange either of ideas or experience. The younger institutions are not profiting as they should by the mistakes of the older. The spirit of mutual helpfulness now prevailing among the large municipal museums of our country is as yet unknown to western museums of our class. The well-established systems of exchange, which have contributed so greatly to their growth, are not yet maintained by our own.

For several years past our Museum, being in need of certain specimens for purposes of comparative study, has been endeavoring to negotiate exchanges with other museums of its class in several States within whose territories these occur. It was desired, if possible, to secure these exchanges through these sources rather than through exchanges with individuals or through purchases from dealers. The results of our efforts to thus enter into closer relations with our sister institutions were of a disappointing nature. Only one exchange was consummated. Several museums were not ready to conduct exchanges of any kind; others had no material to offer. We were, therefore, forced to meet our wants in other ways. Undoubtedly all of these museums are at present in the possession of specimens and small collections which some other institution would be greatly pleased to receive, and which would be of great benefit to it in its work.

The historical museums should not only be the recognized agents for the preservation of the archaeological and historical wealth of their States, but the distributors as well. When all have awakened to a full understanding of their custodianship, all will be benefitted. The escape to other regions of valuable articles and collections will be largely prevented, and at the same time it will be possible to provide co-working institutions with needful materials. Coming from an authoritative source, these acquisitions would have far greater educational value than if acquired through other channels.

Appreciating, as I believe that we do, the present needs and shortcomings of our museums, I am convinced that all would be greatly benefitted if at future meetings of this Association conferences between the officers of these important departments of the work of the State historical societies could be arranged. The future expansion of our State educational systems requires that the State museums should be prepared to contribute their full share to the advancement of public education.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY IN AMERICAN HISTORY

BY FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER

The rise of a company of sympathetic and critical students of history in the South and in the West is bound to revolutionize the perspective of American history. Already our eastern colleagues are aware in general, if not in detail, of the importance of the work of this nation in dealing with the vast interior, and with the influence of the West upon the nation. Indeed, I might take as the text for this address the words of one of our eastern historians, Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, who, a decade ago, wrote:

The Mississippi Valley yields to no region in the world in interest, in romance, and in promise for the future. Here, if anywhere, is the real America — the field, the theatre, and the basis of the civilization of the Western World. The history of the Mississippi Valley is the history of the United States; its future is the future of one of the most powerful of modern nations.¹

If those of us who have been insisting on the importance of our own region are led at times by the enthusiasm of the pioneer for the inviting historical domain that opens before us to overstate the importance of our subject, we may at least plead that we have gone no farther than some of our brethren of the East; and we may take comfort in this declaration of Theodore Roosevelt:

The states that have grown up around the Great Lakes and in the Valley of the Upper Mississippi, [are] the states which are destined to be the greatest, the richest, the most pros-

¹ *Harper's Magazine*, February, 1900, p. 413.

perous of all the great, rich, and prosperous commonwealths which go to make up the mightiest republic the world has ever seen. These states . . . form the heart of the country geographically, and they will soon become the heart in population and in political and social importance. . . . I should be sorry to think that before these states there loomed a future of material prosperity merely. I regard this section of the country as the heart of true American sentiment.²

In studying the history of the whole Mississippi Valley, therefore, the members of this Association are studying the origins of that portion of the nation which is admitted by competent eastern authorities to be the section potentially most influential in the future of America. They are also studying the region which has engaged the most vital activities of the whole nation; for the problems arising from the existence of the Mississippi Valley, whether of movement, of population, diplomacy, politics, economic development, or social structure, have been fundamental problems in shaping the nation. It is not a narrow, not even a local, interest which determines the mission of this Association. It is nothing less than the study of the American people in the presence and under the influence of the vast spaces, the imperial resources of the great interior. The social destiny of this Valley will be the social destiny, and will mark the place in history, of the United States.

In a large sense, and in the one usually given to it by geographers and historians, the Mississippi Valley includes the whole interior basin, a province which drains into nearly two thousand miles of navigable waters of the Mississippi itself, two thousand miles of the tawny flood of the Missouri, and a thousand miles of the Ohio — five thousand miles of main water highways open to the steamboat, nearly two and a half million square miles of drainage basin, a land greater than all Europe except

² Roosevelt's *The Northwest in the Nation*, in *Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society*, Fortieth Annual Meeting, p. 92.

Russia, Norway, and Sweden, a land of levels, marked by essential geographic unity, a land estimated to be able to support a population of two or three hundred millions, three times the present population of the whole nation, an empire of natural resources in which to build a noble social structure worthy to hold its place as the heart of American industrial, political and spiritual life.

The significance of the Mississippi Valley in American history was first shown in the fact that it opened to various nations visions of power in the New World — visions that sweep across the horizon of historical possibility like the luminous but unsubstantial aurora of a comet's train, portentous and fleeting.

Out of the darkness of the primitive history of the continent are being drawn the evidences of the rise and fall of Indian cultures, the migrations through and into the great Valley by men of the Stone Age, hinted at in legends and languages, dimly told in the records of mounds and artifacts, but waiting still for complete interpretation.

Into these spaces and among these nature people came France and wrote a romantic page in our early history, a page that tells of unfulfilled empire. What is striking in the effect of the Mississippi Valley upon France is the pronounced influence of the unity of its great spaces. It is not without meaning that Radisson and Groseilliers not only reached the extreme of Lake Superior but also, in all probability, entered upon the waters of the Mississippi and learned of its great western affluent; that Marquette not only received the Indians of the Illinois region in his post on the shores of Lake Superior, but traversed the length of the Mississippi almost to its mouth, and returning revealed the site of Chicago; that La Salle was inspired with the vision of a huge interior empire reaching from the Gulf to the Great Lakes. Before the close of the seventeenth century, Perrot's influ-

ence was supreme in the Upper Mississippi, while D'Iberville was laying the foundations of Louisiana toward the mouth of the great river. Nor is it without significance that while the Verendryes were advancing toward the northwest (where they discovered the Big Horn Mountains and revealed the natural boundaries of the Valley) the Mallet brothers were ascending the Platte, crossing the Colorado plains to Santa Fé and so revealing the natural boundaries toward the southwest.

To the English the Great Valley was a land beyond the Alleghanies. Spotswood, the far-sighted Governor of Virginia, predecessor of frontier builders, grasped the situation when he proposed western settlements to prevent the French from becoming a great people at the back of the colonies. He realized the importance of the Mississippi Valley as the field for expansion, and the necessity to the English empire of dominating it, if England would remain the great power of the New World.

In the war that followed between France and England, we now see what the men of the time could not have realized: that the main issue was neither the possession of the fisheries nor the approaches to the St. Lawrence on the one hemisphere, nor the possession of India on the other, but the mastery of the great interior basin of North America.

How little the nations realized the true meaning of the final victory of England is shown in the fact that Spain reluctantly received from France the cession of the empire beyond the Mississippi, accepting it as a means of preventing the infringement of her colonial monopoly in Spanish America rather than as a field for imperial expansion.

But we know now that when George Washington came as a stripling to the camp of the French at the edge of the great Valley and demanded the relinquishment of the French posts in the name of Virginia, he was demand-

ing in the name of the English speaking people the right to occupy and rule the real center of American resources and power. When Braddock's axmen cut their road from the Potomac toward the forks of the Ohio they were opening a channel through which the forces of civilization should flow with ever increasing momentum and "carving a cross on the wilderness rim" at the spot which is now the center of industrial power of the American nation.

England trembled on the brink of her great conquest, fearful of the effect of these far-stretching rivers upon her colonial system, timorous in the presence of the fierce peoples who held the vast domain beyond the Alleghanies. It seems clear, however, that the Proclamation of 1763, forbidding settlement and the patenting of lands beyond the Alleghanies, was not intended as a permanent creation of an Indian reservation out of this Valley, but was rather a temporary arrangement in order that her own plans might mature and a system of gradual colonization be devised. Already our greatest leaders, men like Washington and Franklin, had been quick to see the importance of this new area for enlarged activities of the American people. A sudden revelation that it was the West, rather than the ocean, which was the real theater for the creative energy of America came with the triumph over France. The Ohio Company and the Loyal Land Company indicate the interest at the outbreak of the war, while the Mississippi Company, headed by the Washingtons and Lees, organized to occupy southern Illinois, Indiana, and Western Kentucky, mark the Virginia interest in the Mississippi Valley, and Franklin's activity in promoting a colony in the Illinois country illustrates the interest of the Philadelphians. Indeed, Franklin saw clearly the possibilities of a settlement there as a means of breaking up Spanish America. Writing to his son in 1767 he declared that a "settlement should be made in

the Illinois country . . . raising a strength there which on occasions of a future war might easily be poured down the Mississippi upon the lower country and into the Bay of Mexico to be used against Cuba, the French Islands, or Mexico itself."³

The Mississippi Valley had been the despair of France in the matter of governmental control. The *coureurs de bois* escaping from the restraints of law and order took their way through its vast wilderness, exploring and trading as they listed. Similarly, when the English colonists crossed the Alleghanies they escaped from the control of mother colonies as well as of the mother country. If the Mississippi Valley revealed to the statesmen of the East, in the exultation of the war with France, an opportunity for new empire building, it revealed to the frontiersmen, who penetrated the passes of the Alleghanies, and entered into their new inheritance, the sharp distinctions between them and the eastern lands which they left behind. From the beginning it was clear that the lands beyond the Alleghanies furnished an opportunity and an incentive to develop American society on independent and unconventional lines. The "men of the western waters" broke with the old order of things, subordinated social restraint to the freedom of the individual, won their title to the rich lands which they entered by hard fighting against the Indians, hotly challenged the right of the east to rule them, demanded their own states, and would not be refused, spoke with contempt of the old social order of ranks and classes in the lands between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic, and proclaimed the ideal of democracy for the vast country which they had entered. Not with the mercurial facility of the French did they follow the river systems of the Great Valley. Like the advance of the glacier they changed the face of the country in their steady and inevitable progress, and they sought

³ *Franklin's Works*, Vol. IV, p. 141.

the sea. It was not long before the Spaniards at the mouth of the river realized the meaning of the new forces that had entered the Valley.

In 1794 the Governor of Louisiana wrote:

This vast and restless population progressively driving the Indian tribes before them and upon us, seek to possess themselves of all the extensive regions which the Indians occupy between the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Appalachian Mountains, thus becoming our neighbors, at the same time that they menacingly ask for the free navigation of the Mississippi. If they achieve their object, their ambitions would not be confined to this side of the Mississippi. Their writings, public papers, and speeches, all turn on this point, the free navigation of the Gulf by the rivers . . . which empty into it, the rich fur trade of the Missouri, and in time the possession of the rich mines of the interior provinces of the very Kingdom of Mexico. Their mode of growth and their policy are as formidable for Spain as their armies. . . . Their roving spirit and the readiness with which they procure sustenance and shelter facilitate rapid settlement. A rifle and a little corn meal in a bag are enough for an American wandering alone in the woods for a month. . . . With logs crossed upon one another he makes a house, and even an impregnable fort against the Indians. . . . Cold does not terrify him, and when a family wearies of one place, it moves to another and settles there with the same ease.

If such men come to occupy the banks of the Mississippi and Missouri, or secure their navigation, doubtless nothing will prevent them from crossing and penetrating into our provinces on the other side, which, being to a great extent unoccupied, can oppose no resistance. . . . In my opinion, a general revolution in America threatens Spain unless the remedy be applied promptly.

In fact, the pioneers who had occupied the uplands of the South, the backwoods stock with its Scotch-Irish leaders which had formed on the eastern edge of the Alleghanies, separate and distinct from the type of tidewater and New England, had found in the Mississippi Valley a

new field for expansion under conditions of free land and unrestraint. These conditions gave it promise of ample time to work out its own social type. But, first of all, these men who were occupying the western waters must find an outlet for their surplus products, if they were to become a great people. While the Alleghanies placed a veto toward the East, the Mississippi opened a broad highway to the South. Its swift current took their flat boats in its strong arms to bear them to the sea, but across the outlet of the great river Spain drew the barrier of her colonial monopoly and denied them exit.

The significance of the Mississippi Valley in American history at the opening of the new republic, therefore, lay in the fact that, beyond the area of the social and political control of the thirteen colonies, there had arisen a new and aggressive society which imperiously put the questions of the public lands, internal communication, local self-government, defense, and aggressive expansion, before the legislators of the old colonial regime. The men of the Mississippi Valley compelled the men of the East to think in American terms instead of European. They dragged a reluctant nation on in a new course.

From the Revolution to the end of the War of 1812 Europe regarded the destiny of the Mississippi Valley as undetermined. Spain desired to maintain her hold by means of the control given through the possession of the mouth of the river and the Gulf, by her influence upon the Indian tribes, and by intrigues with the settlers. Her object was primarily to safeguard the Spanish American monopoly which had made her a great nation in the world. Instinctively she seemed to surmise that out of this Valley were the issues of her future; here was the lever which might break successively, from her empire, fragments about the Gulf — Louisiana, Florida and Texas, Cuba and Porto Rico — the Southwest and Pacific coast, and even the Philippines and the Isthmian Canal, while the great

American republic, building itself on the resources of the Valley, should become paramount over the independent republics into which her empire was to disintegrate.

France, seeking to regain her former colonial power, would use the Mississippi Valley as a means of provisioning her West Indian islands; of dominating Spanish America, and of subordinating to her purposes the feeble United States, which her policy assigned to the lands between the Atlantic and the Alleghanies. The ancient Bourbon monarchy, the revolutionary republic, and the Napoleonic empire — all contemplated the acquisition of the whole Valley of the Mississippi from Alleghanies to Rockies.

England holding the Great Lakes, dominating the northern Indian populations and threatening the Gulf and the mouth of the Mississippi by her fleet, watched during the Revolution, the Confederation, and the early republic for the breaking of the fragile bonds of the thirteen States, ready to extend her protection over the settlers in the Mississippi Valley.

Alarmed by the prospect of England's taking Louisiana and Florida from Spain, Jefferson wrote in 1790: "Embraced from St. Croix to St. Mary's on one side by their possessions, on the other by their fleet, we need not hesitate to say that they would soon find means to unite to them all the territory covered by the ramifications of the Mississippi." And that, he thought, must result in "bloody and eternal war or indissoluble confederacy" with England.

None of these nations deemed it impossible that American settlers in the Mississippi Valley might be won to accept another flag than that of the United States. Gardoqui had the effrontery in 1787 to suggest to Madison that the Kentuckians would make good Spanish subjects. France enlisted the support of frontiersmen led by George Rogers Clark for her attempted conquest of Louisiana

in 1793. England tried to win support among the western settlers. Indeed, when we recall that George Rogers Clark accepted a commission as Major General from France in 1793 and again in 1798; that Wilkinson, afterwards commander-in-chief of the American army, secretly asked Spanish citizenship and promised renunciation of his American allegiance; that Governor Sevier of Franklin, afterwards Senator from Tennessee and its first Governor as a State, Robertson the founder of Cumberland, and Blount, Governor of the Southwest Territory and afterwards Senator from Tennessee, were all willing to accept the rule of another nation sooner than see the navigation of the Mississippi yielded by the American government, we can easily believe that it lay within the realm of possibility that another allegiance might have been accepted by the frontiersmen themselves. We may well trust Rufus Putnam, whose federalism and devotion to his country had been proved and whose work in founding New England's settlement at Marietta is well known, when he wrote in 1790 in answer to Fisher Ames's question whether the Mississippi Valley could be retained in the Union: "Should Congress give up her claim to the navigation of the Mississippi or cede it to the Spaniards, I believe the people in the Western quarter would separate themselves from the United States very soon. Such a measure, I have no doubt, would excite so much rage and dissatisfaction that the people would sooner put themselves under the despotic government of Spain than remain the indented servants of Congress". He added that if Congress did not afford due protection also to these western settlers they might turn to England or Spain.⁴

Prior to the railroad the Mississippi Valley was potentially the basis for an independent empire, in spite of the fact that its population would inevitably be drawn

⁴ Cutlers's *Cutler*, Vol. II, p. 372.

from the eastern States. Its natural outlet was down the current to the Gulf. New Orleans controlled the Valley, in the words of Wilkinson, as the key the lock, or the citadel the outworks. So long as the Mississippi Valley was menaced, or in part controlled, by rival European states, just so long must the United States be a part of the state system of Europe, involved in its fortunes. And particularly was this the case in view of the fact that until the Union made internal commerce, based upon the Mississippi Valley, its dominant economic interest, the merchants and sailors of the northeastern States and the staple producers of the southern sea-board were a commercial appanage of Europe. This significance of the Mississippi Valley was clearly seen by Jefferson. Writing to Livingston in 1802 he declared:

There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three-eighths of our territory must pass to market, and from its fertility it will ere long yield more than half of our whole produce and contain more than half of our inhabitants. . . . The day that France takes possession of New Orleans fixes the sentence which is to restrain her within her low water mark. It seals the union of two nations who in conjunction can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation . . . holding the two continents of America in sequestration for the common purposes of the united British and American nations.⁵

The acquisition of Louisiana was a recognition of the essential unity of the Mississippi Valley. The French engineer Collot reported to his government after an investigation in 1796:

All the positions on the left [east] bank of the Mississippi . . . without the alliance of the Western states are far from covering Louisiana. . . . When two nations possess, one the coasts and the other the plains, the former must inevitably em-

⁵ *Jefferson's Works*, Vol. IV, p. 431.

bark or submit. From thence I conclude that the Western States of the North American republic must unite themselves with Louisiana and form in the future one single compact nation; or else that colony to whatever power it shall belong will be conquered or devoured.

The effect of bringing political unity to the Mississippi Valley by the Louisiana Purchase was profound. It was the decisive step of the United States on an independent career as a world power, free from entangling foreign alliances. The victories of Harrison in the Northwest, in the War of 1812 that followed, ensured our expansion in the northern half of the Valley. Jackson's triumphal march to the Gulf and his defense of New Orleans in the same war won the basis for that Cotton Kingdom, so important in the economic life of the nation and so pregnant with the issue of slavery. The acquisition of Florida, Texas, and the Far West followed naturally. Not only was the nation set on an independent path in foreign relations; its political system was revolutionized, for the Mississippi Valley now opened the way for adding State after State, swamping the New England section and its federalism. The doctrine of strict construction had received a fatal blow at the hands of its own prophet. The old conception of historic sovereign states, makers of a federation, was shattered by this vast addition of raw material for an indefinite number of parallelograms called States, nursed through a Territorial period by the Federal government, admitted under conditions, and animated by national rather than by State patriotism.

The area of the nation had been so enlarged and the development of the internal resources so promoted, by the acquisition of the whole course of the mighty river, its tributaries and its outlet, that the Atlantic coast soon turned its economic energies from the sea to the interior. Cities and sections began to struggle for ascendancy over its industrial life. A real national activity, a genuine

American culture began. The vast spaces, the huge natural resources, of the Valley demanded exploitation and population. Later there came the tide of foreign immigration which has risen so steadily that it has made a composite American people whose amalgamation is destined to produce a new national stock.

But without attempting to exhaust, or even to indicate, all the effects of the Louisiana Purchase, I wish next to ask your attention to the significance of the Mississippi Valley in the promotion of democracy and the transfer of the political center of gravity in the nation. The Mississippi Valley has been the especial home of democracy. Born of free land and the pioneer spirit, nurtured in the ideas of the revolution and finding free play for these ideas in the unrestraint of the wilderness, democracy showed itself in the earliest utterances of the men of the western waters and it has persisted there. The demand for local self-government, which was insistent on the frontier, and the endorsement given by the Alleghanies to these demands led to the creation of a system of independent western governments and to the Ordinance of 1787, an original contribution to colonial policy. This was framed in the period when any rigorous subjection of the West to eastern rule would have endangered the ties that bound them to the Union itself. In the Constitutional Convention prominent eastern statesmen expressed their fears of the western democracy and would have checked its ability to out-vote the regions of property by limiting its political power, so that it should never equal that of the Atlantic coast. But more liberal counsels prevailed. In the first debates upon the public lands, also, it was clearly stated that the social system of the nation was involved quite as much as the question of revenue. Eastern fears that cheap lands in abundance would depopulate the Atlantic States and check their in-

dustrial growth by a scarcity of labor supply were met by the answer of one of the representatives in 1796:

I question if any man would be hardy enough to point out a class of citizens by name that ought to be the servants of the community; yet unless that is done to what class of the People could you direct such a law? But if you passed such an act [limiting the area offered for sale in the Mississippi Valley], it would be tantamount to saying that there is some class which must remain here, and by law be obliged to serve the others for such wages as they please to give.

Gallatin showed his comprehension of the basis of the prosperous American democracy in the same debate when he said:

If the cause of the happiness of this country was examined into, it would be found to arise as much from the great plenty of land in proportion to the inhabitants, which their citizens enjoyed as from the wisdom of their political institutions.

Out of this frontier democratic society where the freedom and abundance of land in the great Valley opened a refuge to the oppressed in all regions, came the Jacksonian democracy which governed the nation after the downfall of the party of John Quincy Adams. Its center rested in Tennessee, the region from which so large a portion of the Mississippi Valley was settled by descendants of the men of the Upland South. The rule of the Mississippi Valley is seen when we recall the place that Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri held in both parties. Besides Jackson, Clay, and Harrison, we count such names as the Speakers of the House, Bell and Polk, Senator Hugh White, an unsuccessful candidate for the presidency, Vice President R. M. Johnson, Grundy, the Chairman of the finance committee, and Benton the champion of western radicalism. It was in this period, and largely by reason of the drainage of population to the West, and the stir in the air raised by the western winds of Jacksonian democracy, that most of the older States reconstruct-

ed their constitutions on a more democratic basis. From the Mississippi Valley where there were liberal suffrage, apportionments based on population alone instead of property and population, disregard of vested interests, and insistence on the rights of man, came the inspiration for this era of change in the franchise and apportionment, of reform of laws for imprisonment for debt, of general attacks upon monopoly and privilege. "It was now plain", wrote Jackson in 1837, "that the war is to be carried on by the monied aristocracy of the few against the democracy of numbers; the [prosperous] to make the honest laborers hewers of wood and drawers of water . . . through the credit and paper system."

By this time the Mississippi Valley had grown in population and political power so that it ranked with the older sections. The next indication of its significance in American history which I shall mention is its position in shaping the economic and political course of the nation between the close of the War of 1812 and the slavery struggle. In 1790 the Mississippi Valley had a population of about a hundred thousand, or one-fortieth of that of the United States as a whole; by 1810 it had over a million, or one-seventh; by 1830 it had three and two-thirds millions, or over one-fourth; by 1840 over six millions, more than one-third. While the Atlantic coast increased only a million and a half souls between 1830 and 1840, the Mississippi Valley gained nearly three millions. Ohio (virgin wilderness in 1790) was, half a century later, nearly as populous as Pennsylvania and twice as populous as Massachusetts. While Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina were gaining 60,000 souls between 1830 and 1840, Illinois gained 318,000. Indeed, the growth of this State alone excelled that of the entire South Atlantic States.

These figures show the significance of the Mississippi Valley in its pressure upon the older section by the com-

petition of its cheap lands, its abundant harvests, and its drainage of the labor supply. All of these things meant an upward lift to the eastern wage earner. But they meant also an increase of political power in the Valley. Before the War of 1812 the Mississippi Valley had six senators, New England ten, the Middle States ten, and the South eight. By 1840 the Mississippi Valley had twenty-two senators, double those of the Middle States and New England combined, and nearly three times as many as the Old South; while in the House of Representatives the Mississippi Valley outweighed any one of the old sections. In 1810 it had less than one-third the power of New England and the South together in the House. In 1840 it outweighed them both combined.

While the Mississippi Valley thus rose to superior political power as compared with any of the old sections, its economic development made it the inciting factor in the industrial life of the nation. After the War of 1812 the steamboat revolutionized the transportation facilities of the Mississippi Valley. In each economic area a surplus formed, demanding an outlet and demanding returns in manufactures. The spread of cotton into the lower Mississippi Valley and the Gulf Plains had a double significance. This transfer of the center of cotton production away from the Atlantic South not only brought increasing hardship and increasing unrest to the East as the competition of the virgin soils depressed Atlantic land values and made eastern labor increasingly dear, but the price of cotton fell also in due proportion to the increase in production by the Mississippi Valley. While the transfer of economic power from the Seaboard South to the Cotton Kingdom of the Lower Mississippi Valley was in progress, the Upper Mississippi Valley was leaping forward under the stimulus of a market for its surplus in the plantations of the South, where almost exclusive

cultivation of the great staples resulted in a lack of food-stuffs and livestock.

At the same time the great river and its affluents became the highway of a commerce that reached to the West Indies, the Atlantic Coast, Europe, and South America. The Mississippi Valley was an industrial entity from Pittsburg and Santa Fé to New Orleans. It became the most important influence in American politics and industry. Washington had declared in 1784 that it was the part of wisdom for Virginia to bind the West to the East by ties of interest through internal improvement thereby taking advantage of the extensive and valuable trade of a rising empire.

This realization of the fact that an economic empire was growing up beyond the mountains stimulated rival cities, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, to engage in a struggle to supply the West with goods and receive its products. This resulted in an attempt to break down the barrier of the Alleghanies by internal improvements. The movement became especially active after the War of 1812, when New York carried out De Witt Clinton's vast conception of making by the Erie Canal a greater Hudson which should drain to the port of New York all the basin of the Great Lakes, and by means of other canals even divert the traffic from the tributaries of the Mississippi. New York City's commercial ascendancy dates from this connection with interior New York and the Mississippi Valley. A writer in Hunt's *Merchants' Magazine* in 1869 makes the significance of this clearer by these words:

There was a period in the history of the seaboard cities when there was no West; and when the Alleghany mountains formed the frontier of settlement and agricultural production. During that epoch the seaboard cities, North and South, grew in proportion to the extent and fertility of the country in their rear; and as Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia were more productive in staples valuable to commerce than the col-

onies north of them, the cities of Baltimore, Norfolk, Charleston, and Savannah enjoyed a greater trade and experienced a larger growth than those on the northern seaboard.

He, then, classifies the periods of city development into three: (1) the provincial, limited to the Atlantic seaboard; (2) that of canal and turnpike connection with the Mississippi Valley; and (3) that of railroad connection. Thus he was able to show how Norfolk, for example, was shut off from the enriching currents of interior trade and was outstripped by New York. The efforts of Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, and Savannah to divert the trade of the Mississippi system to their own ports on the Atlantic, and the rise or fall of these cities in proportion as they succeeded are a sufficient indication of the meaning of the Mississippi Valley in American industrial life. What colonial empire has been for London that the Mississippi Valley is to the seaboard cities of the United States, awakening visions of industrial empire, systematic control of vast spaces, producing the American type of the captain of industry.

It was not alone city rivalry that converged upon the Mississippi Valley and sought its alliance. Sectional rivalry likewise saw that the balance of power possessed by the interior furnished an opportunity for combinations. This was a fundamental feature of Calhoun's policy when he urged the Seaboard South to complete a railroad system to tap the Northwest. As Washington had hoped to make western trade seek its outlet in Virginia and build up the industrial power of the Old Dominion by enriching intercourse with the Mississippi Valley, as Monroe wished to bind the West to Virginia's political interests, and as De Witt Clinton wished to attach it to New York, so Calhoun and Hayne would make "Georgia and Carolina the commercial center of the Union, and the two most powerful and influential members of the confederacy", by draining the Mississippi Val-

ley to their ports. "I believe," said Calhoun, "that the success of a connection of the West is of the last importance to us politically and commercially. . . . I do verily believe that Charleston has more advantages in her position for the Western trade, than any city on the Atlantic, but to develop them we ought to look to the Tennessee instead of the Ohio, and much farther to the West than Cincinnati or Lexington."

This was the secret of Calhoun's advocacy both of the distribution of the surplus revenue and of the cession of the public lands to the States in which they lay, as an inducement to the West to ally itself with southern policies; and it is the key to the readiness of Calhoun, even after he lost his nationalism, to promote internal improvements which would foster the southward current of trade on the Mississippi.

Without going into details, I may simply call your attention to the fact that Clay's whole system of internal improvements and tariff was based upon the place of the Mississippi Valley in American life. It was the upper part of the Valley, and especially the Ohio Valley, that furnished the votes which carried the tariffs of 1816, 1824, and 1828. Its interests profoundly influenced the details of those tariffs and its need of internal improvement constitutes a basis for sectional bargaining in all the constructive legislation after the War of 1812. New England, the middle region, and the South each sought alliance with the growing section beyond the mountains. American legislation bears the enduring evidence of these alliances. Even the National Bank found in this Valley the main sphere of its business. The nation had turned its energies to internal exploitation, and sections contended for the economic and political power derived from connection with the interior.

But already the Mississippi Valley was beginning to stratify, both socially and geographically. As the

railroads pushed across the mountains, the tide of New England and New York colonists and German immigrants sought the basin of the Great Lakes and the Upper Mississippi. A distinct zone, industrially and socially connected with New England, was forming. The railroad reinforced the Erie Canal and, as De Bow put it, turned back the tide of the Father of Waters so that its outlet was in New York instead of New Orleans for a large part of the Valley. Below the northern zone was the border zone of the Upland South, the region of compromise, including both banks of the Ohio and the Missouri and reaching down to the hills on the north of the Gulf Plains. The Cotton Kingdom based on slavery found its center in the fertile soils along the Lower Mississippi and the black prairies of Georgia and Alabama, and was settled largely by planters from the old cotton lands of the Atlantic States. The Mississippi Valley had rejuvenated slavery, had given it an aggressive tone characteristic of western life.

Thus the Valley found itself in the midst of the slavery struggle at the very time when its own society had lost homogeneity. Let us allow two leaders, one of the South and one of the North, to describe the situation; and, first, let the South speak. Said Hammond, of South Carolina,* in a speech in the Senate on March 4, 1858:

I think it not improper that I should attempt to bring the North and South face to face, and see what resources each of us might have in the contingency of separate organizations.

Through the heart of our country runs the great Mississippi, the father of waters, into whose bosom are poured thirty-six thousand miles of tributary streams; and beyond we have the desert prairie wastes to protect us in our rear. Can you hem in such a territory as that? You talk of putting up a wall of fire around eight hundred and fifty thousand miles so situated! How absurd.

* *Congressional Globe*, 35th Congress, First Session, Appendix, p. 70.

But in this territory lies the great valley of the Mississippi, now the real and soon to be the acknowledged seat of the empire of the world. The sway of that valley will be as great as ever the Nile knew in the earlier ages of mankind. We own the most of it. The most valuable part of it belongs to us now; and although those who have settled above us are now opposed to us, another generation will tell a different tale. They are ours by all the laws of nature; slave labor will go to every foot of this great valley where it will be found profitable to use it, and some of those who may not use it are soon to be united with us by such ties as will make us one and inseparable. The iron horse will soon be clattering over the sunny plains of the South to bear the products of its upper tributaries to our Atlantic ports, as it now does through the ice bound North. There is the great Mississippi, bond of union made by nature herself. She will maintain it forever.

As the Seaboard South had transferred the mantle of leadership to Tennessee and then to the Cotton Kingdom of the Lower Mississippi, so New England and New York resigned their command to the northern half of the Mississippi Valley and the basin of the Great Lakes. Seward, the old time leader of the eastern Whigs who had just lost the Republican nomination for the presidency to Lincoln, may rightfully speak for the Northeast. In the fall of 1860, addressing an audience at Madison, Wisconsin, he declared: '

The empire established at Washington is of less than a hundred years formation. It was the empire of thirteen Atlantic American states. Still, practically, the mission of that empire is fulfilled. The power that directs it is ready to pass away from those thirteen states, and although held and exercised under the same constitution and national form of government, yet it is now in the very act of being transferred from the thirteen states east of the Alleghany mountains and on the coast of the Atlantic ocean, to the twenty states that lie west of the Alleghanies, and stretch away from their base to the base of the Rocky mountains on the West, and you are the heirs to

¹ *Seward's Works*, (Boston, 1884), Vol. IV, p. 319.

it. When the next census shall reveal your power, you will be found to be the masters of the United States of America, and through them the dominating political power of the world.

Appealing to the Northwest on the slavery issue Seward declared:

The whole responsibility rests henceforth directly or indirectly on the people of the Northwest. . . . There can be no virtue in commercial and manufacturing communities to maintain a democracy, when the democracy themselves do not want a democracy. There is no virtue in Pearl street, in Wall street, in Court street, in Chestnut street, in any other street of great commercial cities, that can save the great democratic government of ours, when you cease to uphold it with your intelligent votes, your strong and mighty hands. You must, therefore, lead us as we heretofore reserved and prepared the way for you. We resign to you the banner of human rights and human liberty, on this continent, and we bid you be firm, bold and onward and then you may hope that we will be able to follow you.

Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois had tried to compromise these conflicting zones of the Mississippi Valley by an appeal to their historic love of local self-government. He restated the old doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty as a solvent for the slavery question. But Lincoln, more deeply conscious of the meaning of the geographic unity of the Mississippi Valley, spoke the fateful words: "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

When we survey the course of the slavery struggle in the United States it is clear that the form the question took was due to the Mississippi Valley. The Ordinance of 1787, the Missouri Compromise, the Texas question, the Free Soil agitation, the Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska bill, the Dred Scott decision, "bleeding Kansas" — these are all Mississippi Valley questions, and the mere enumeration makes it plain that it was the Mississippi Valley as an area for expansion which gave the slavery issue its significance in American history.

But for this field of expansion, slavery might have fulfilled the expectation of the fathers and gradually died away.

Of the significance of the Mississippi Valley in the Civil War, it is unnecessary that I should speak. Illinois gave to the North its President; Mississippi gave to the South its President. Lincoln and Davis were both born in Kentucky. Grant and Sherman, the northern generals, came from the Mississippi Valley; and both of them believed that when Vicksburg fell the cause of the South was lost, and so it must have been if the Confederacy had been unable, after victories in the East, to regain the Father of Waters; for, as General Sherman said: "Whatever power holds that river can govern this continent."

With the close of the war political power passed for many years to the northern half of the Mississippi Valley, as the names of Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Harrison, and McKinley indicate. The population of the Valley grew from about fifteen millions in 1860 to over forty millions in 1900 — over half the total population of the United States. The significance of its industrial growth is not likely to be overestimated or overlooked. On its northern border, from near Minnesota's boundary line, through the Great Lakes to Pittsburg, on its eastern edge, runs a huge movement of iron from mine to factory. This industry is basal in American life, and it has revolutionized the industry of the world. The United States produces pig iron and steel in amount equal to her two greatest competitors combined, and the iron ores for this product are chiefly in the Mississippi Valley. It is the chief producer of coal, thereby enabling the United States almost to equal the combined production of Germany and Great Britain; and the great oil fields of the nation are in its midst. Its huge crops of wheat and corn and its cattle are the main resources for the United States and are

drawn upon by Europe. Its cotton furnishes two-thirds of the world's factory supply. Its railroad system constitutes the greatest transportation network in the world. Again it is seeking industrial consolidation by demanding improvement of its vast water system as a unit. If this design, favored by Roosevelt, shall at some time be accomplished, again the bulk of the commerce of the Valley may flow along the old routes to New Orleans; and to Galveston by the development of southern railroad outlets after the building of the Panama Canal. For the development and exploitation of these and of the transportation and trade interests of the Middle West, eastern capital has been consolidated into huge corporations, trusts, and combinations. With the influx of capital, and the rise of cities and manufactures, portions of the Mississippi Valley have become assimilated with the East. With the end of the era of free lands the basis of its democratic society is passing away.

The final topic on which I shall briefly comment in this discussion of the significance of the Mississippi Valley in American history is a corollary of this condition. Has the Mississippi Valley a permanent contribution to make to American society, or is it to be adjusted into a type characteristically eastern and European? In other words, has the United States itself an original contribution to make to the history of society? This is what it comes to. The most significant fact in the Mississippi Valley is its ideals. Here has been developed, not by revolutionary theory, but by growth among free opportunities, the conception of a vast democracy made up of mobile ascending individuals, conscious of their power and their responsibilities. Can these ideals of individualism and democracy be reconciled and applied to the twentieth century type of civilization?

Other nations have been rich and prosperous and powerful, art-loving and empire-building. No other na-

tion on a vast scale has been controlled by a self-conscious, self-restrained democracy in the interests of progress and freedom, industrial as well as political. It is in the vast and level spaces of the Mississippi Valley, if anywhere, that the forces of social transformation and the modification of its democratic ideals may be arrested.

Beginning with competitive individualism, as well as with belief in equality, the farmers of the Mississippi Valley gradually learned that unrestrained competition and combination meant the triumph of the strongest, the seizure in the interest of a dominant class of the strategic points of the nation's life. They learned that between the ideal of individualism, unrestrained by society, and the ideal of democracy, was an innate conflict; that their very ambitions and forcefulness had endangered their democracy. The significance of the Mississippi Valley in American history has lain partly in the fact that it was a region of revolt. Here have arisen varied, sometimes ill-considered, but always devoted, movements for ameliorating the lot of the common man in the interests of democracy. Out of the Mississippi Valley have come successive and related tidal waves of popular demand for real or imagined legislative safeguards to their rights and their social ideals. The granger movement, the greenback movement, the populist movement, Bryan democracy, and Roosevelt republicanism all found their greatest strength in the Mississippi Valley. They were Mississippi Valley ideals in action. Its people were learning by experiment and experience how to grapple with the fundamental problem of creating a just social order that shall sustain the free, progressive, individual in a real democracy. The Mississippi Valley is asking, "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

The Mississippi Valley has furnished a new social order to America. Its universities have set new types of institutions for social service and for the elevation of the

plain people. Its historians should recount its old ambitions, and inventory its ideals, as well as its resources, for the information of the present age, to the end that building on its past, the mighty Valley may have a significance in the life of the nation even more profound than any which I have to-night recounted.

THE DUTY OF THE STATE IN RELATION TO ITS HISTORY

BY JOHN LEE WEBSTER

History is as much a natural instinct of the human mind as is the belief in a spiritual over-ruling Providence. All races, however barbarous or uncivilized or uncultured, have attempted some form of recorded history. Long before the age of letters or the art of writing, the tribes that wandered in olden times upon the banks of the Nile attempted the recording of history in hieroglyphics. The Aztecs, so ancient that no man knows their beginning, who disappeared in the face of a conquering race of people, attempted an unsubstantial form of history by inscription and rude pyramids. In the mounds of North America there were found historic evidences of prehistoric tribes of Indians, the fact of whose prior existence would not have become known to the ethnologist and antiquarian and the historian had they not attempted to perpetuate in this rude manner their history.

I care not whether the people were red or brown or white, Celt or Copt, they have all striven to avoid a dark and mysterious oblivion and to link their lives and history with the eternity that was to come after them.

We Americans of to-day, in every State of the Union, are following the same human instinct; an instinct which ranges over the whole era of our history, from Plymouth Rock on the Atlantic to the Golden Gate on the Pacific, and from a band of Pilgrims to a nation of ninety millions of people.

It is the same human instinct that has brought into existence the State historical societies by which we are

endeavoring to unite in clear, conscious relationship the history of our past with the vast and limitless future. Such societies are an incentive to progress and advancement, an inspiration to higher ideas, and are of priceless value to the States and their people.

History lies at the bottom of all knowledge. It is the first starting point of all learning and of all literature. Our civilization is a process of evolution springing from the experience of all history. Our national government is founded on principles gathered from centuries of history.

Our epic poems and our literature are varied and inspired expressions of the stirring events in history which have appealed most to the imagination. Had it not been for the historic events that made the Siege of Troy memorable we would not remember Homer, and the literary world would not have had the enjoyment that has come to it through the long time of centuries from the reading of the *Iliad*.

Without history much that Dante wrote would not find a place on the shelves of our libraries and there would have been wanting the incentive for his great masterpiece.

Without the historical traditions of the old Italian cities and without the histories of the wars between the Kings of England and France, Shakespeare would have been obliged to depend upon the invention of his poetic genius for his fame. Indeed, without these his reputation might never have risen higher than his co-temporaries and might have become entirely dimmed.

A great scholar has expressed the opinion that it would be better for the world if all the histories that have been written should be destroyed than that civilization should lose the writings of Homer and of Dante and of Shakespeare. When I read that statement I did not construe it to be an expression of depreciation of the value

of history, but of high praise for the value of the poetic genius of these three masters in their art. But be that as it may, the truth stands out preëminent that without a familiarity with history these great poets would not have written their masterpieces, and the world, instead of having gained, would have lost a Homer, a Dante, and a Shakespeare.

Other poets who have put forth in melodious phrase the thoughts that have come to them by the inspired muse, have been indebted to incidents of history. This is true from Virgil to Milton, from Byron to Tennyson, and from Longfellow to Whittier.

The history of our country, as well as that of other countries, will live in its poetry. "Every great event, every historic episode, every critical moment in the annals of the nation is immortalized by the rhythm that thrills the hearts of the people down through the generations."

History does not consist alone in the frigid recital of cold facts. There is that in history which appeals to the imagination. It is the romance of the lives of men who were engaged in the stirring events of the period in which they lived. It is the recital of the transactions and creations of men and peoples and nations. It is the condensation into general declarations of the materials found in the thousands of biographies. For ages it has been the field from which novelists have gathered the material for their romances. Without the history of England and Scotland we would not have had those beautiful pen pictures that run through the historical novels of that genius of Scotland, Sir Walter Scott, romances which have furnished abundant instruction and made millions of people happy while reading them.

Had it not been for the recorded pages of history of the old Roman Empire we would not have had Bulwer's brilliant historic romance, *Rienzi*, *The Last of The Tribunes*. Had it not been for the archaeologist and the histor-

ian, Bulwer could not have given to us the *Last Days of Pompeii*. Had it not been for the recording of the exciting and tumultuous scenes of English history we would not have had Bulwer's masterpiece, *The Last of The Barons*.

In all the books of travels and discoveries and explorations the writers have entered into the domain of history. Indeed, if it were not for the promptings that arise from a knowledge of history and the incentive to exceed or excel in the things recorded there, travels would lose half their charm, and the task of discoveries and explorations would not be undertaken.

The thousands of biographies of soldiers, of statesmen, and of men eminent in various walks of life have been written by their admiring friends to perpetuate the memory of their actions and deeds and achievements to future generations. The primary purpose of biographies is a standing protest against oblivion and a contest to perpetuate the lives of these men in the pages of history.

Go into any library and take down from the shelves all its volumes of history, and all its poems, and all its romances, and all its biographies, and all other volumes that deal in a general or specific way with the events of history, or appeal to the incidents of history to support their recitals, or contentions in argument, and commit all these to the flames, and the library shelves will become vacant. When all these are gone the colleges must go, the universities must go, and civilization will go back to a period of ignorance greater than that of the dark ages. Then we would have to begin again as the world did centuries ago to build up a new education, and a new civilization, and pass through a long line of centuries to reach a bright and exalted period equal to that of the present age. Aye, more than all that; when all these go the Bible must go, because, whether treated as a book of inspiration or as a great literature, it is a history of ancient Kings, and of Nations, and of Peoples, of the Jews, Assyrians, Baby-

lonians, and Egyptians, and of the Prince of Peace. Strip the world of the benefits of history and the world would not be worth living in.

Without history we would not have our common country. Without a familiarity with the Magna Charta, and with the English Bill of Rights, and the liberty of the individual man under the unwritten English Constitution, Thomas Jefferson could not have written the Declaration of Independence. Without that knowledge of the rights of Englishmen which were transplanted to the American Colonies, Washington could not have successfully carried on the War of the Revolution.

Without a full and complete knowledge of the history of the conflicting contests between freedom and oppression, which prevailed through the long evolutionary periods from ancient Greece to the Federation of the Colonies, Madison and Hamilton and Wilson and their associates could not have framed the Federal Constitution, and its supporters and advocates could not have secured its approval by the American people.

Patriotism is the life and support of every nation and without history patriotism would be unknown, for patriotism has its birth-right in the spirit of history. Patriotism is a sentiment that has its inception in a reverence for the old historic beginnings. With America it goes back in memory to the landing of the Cavaliers at Jamestown, and of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. It is cultivated and increased by its reverence for the memories of Washington and his associate revolutionary heroes, and its recollection of all the bright pages in history that record the development of the country from its birth to its present great and majestic proportions. Blot from memory the history of our early beginning, the memories of our battles from Yorktown to the Spanish War, and the memories of the lives of the great men that have brought this country up to its present standard of supremacy as a

world power, and we would not know the meaning of the word patriotism.

Hence, confidently we may assert that without the benefits of history constitutional government could not be created and governments of law and equality could not exist. Blot out history and organized governments would dissolve and society would lose the bonds of fraternal unity, and the only ruling power that man would know would be the power of force, as exercised by a chief of a savage tribe, or a conquering warrior like a Tamerlane or an Alexander.

If history be so important to the existence of the State and of the Nation, it is of more importance to the individual, for in the end it is the individual man that must suffer if the government is not what he would wish it to be. As citizens of a State, or as citizens of the Nation, every individual man that wishes well for himself, and for the community, and for the State and the Nation, should take an interest in seeing that the State as well as the Nation shall collect and preserve the incidents and records of its history so that the generations which come after us, may, from these archives, gather and profit by the history of our times as we have gathered knowledge and instruction from the history of the ages that have gone before us.

State historical societies collect and preserve the historical incidents and records which are the wells from which spring forth the intellectual and spiritual growth of our people, just as sculpture and art are the culmination of historical sequences. The interests which these societies represent are the foundation upon which the States rest and the Nation is maintained. A reverence for the valuable materials gathered by these historical societies is one of the strongest moral influences that can be inculcated in our people. Upon an appreciation of what shall be gathered there rests the spirit, the loyalty

and the patriotism of the generations. Historical knowledge is a positive force in moulding public opinion and is now, as it ever has been, the source of precedents for our institutions of justice.

As the air we breathe is drawn from the great depositories of nature, as the light which illumines the day comes from a central sun millions of miles distant, so the knowledge which we possess in our age is drawn from great depositories of history, and our advancement and development is traceable to the historic precedents of the measureless past.

The older nations of the Continent of Europe, such as France, Germany, and Italy, long since learned the wisdom of bringing home to the understanding of the common people an appreciation of the memorable events in their national histories by means of works of art. The great historic truths which the mind can take in while the eye is resting upon a dream of beauty, either in the wonderful work produced by the sculptor's chisel, or in figures of beauty dressed in robes of color by the artist's brush, are lasting and persuasive. It is a happier method of instruction than the wearisome labor of searching through the store-house of archives. America, too, is fast learning this method of teaching history and within the last few years her history is being immortalized in marble and bronze and painting. The National greatness of the Republic is being symbolized in memorials on its public buildings. Our monuments in figures of bronze and in chiselled marble are daily reminders of our achievements in war and in peace.

The Washington obelisk, as seen by the millions of people who annually visit the National Capitol, illuminates the history of our early life. The statues of Lafayette and Rochambeau bring to memory the friendship of France for the United States in the War of the Revolution and our splendid victory at Yorktown.

The statues of Grant, and Sherman, and Farragut, and Hancock and others that adorn the parks and circles in Washington City tell of the victories in the Civil War which gave to the country nationality. The statues of Lincoln, simple and unadorned though they may be, recall the Proclamation of Emancipation more vividly than it can be retold by any historian.

The lovers of our national history have sought the aid of the painter's brush to keep fresh and vivid the biographic memories and personages of the founders of the Republic. The painted portraits of Adams, and Hancock, and Franklin, and Hamilton, and Jefferson, and of Generals Warren and Stark, and Lincoln, and Knox, and Gates, and Green, and Washington convey to us a deeper and more lasting impression of their characters and of their successes as statesmen, or as soldiers, than do the printed pages found in their biographies, or the histories of the times in which they lived.

The large paintings of the battlefields from Lexington and Bunker Hill and Germantown to the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown are a brilliant condensation of all the history of the War of the Revolution, just as the picture of the "Signing of the Declaration of Independence" tells the history of the beginning of our Republic. It has been said that the true history of a people is written in its art. It is the genius of the sculptor that has fashioned in marble the exquisite conceptions of the life, of music, of art, of learning, and of science in America. These conceptions represent some deep philosophical truth in life as it is interpreted from historical records found in the archives of State historical societies.

Our State historical buildings should be the best that architectural skill can fashion and construct. Their adornments should be the best that art and sculpture can produce to symbolize and immortalize the State's history.

Plymouth Church, in her stained glass windows, is

rich in historic beauty, where in colors, in which the skilled work of the artist is aided and illumined by the sun-light of heaven, is pictured a history that covers a century. There is seen the "Coming of the Puritans", "The Landing of the Pilgrims", "The Signing of the Compact in the Cabin of the Mayflower", "William Penn Submitting a Draft of the Constitution for Pennsylvania", "The Huguenots in Carolina", "Roger Williams Settling in Rhode Island", and "John Elliot Preaching to the Indians". How gratifying it would be if our State historical buildings in a similar way could present to the eye of all our people the historic personages and important events in the histories of the States.

Art is as true a record of a nation's progress as a scroll, and pictorial impressions are oftentimes greater than the written word. The older civilization of the old world is represented in her priceless masterpieces, and such are more influential upon the national spirit and character than speeches and books.

The United States has adorned its Custom House in the City of New York with a conception in sculpture of "America's Mastery of the Seas". It represents "The Young Republic of the New World Before the Genius of Navigation". There is also a sculptured conception of American commerce, "whose genius has conquered time and tide"; a sculptured conception of America's tribute to Europe, representing "The Open Door to all the Peoples of the Earth"; a conception of America's tribute to Asia, representing "The Gateway to the Western Continent"; a conception of America's tribute to Africa, "The Chief Port of Entry to the New World"; a conception of America's greeting to the world representing "The Bounteous Fruits of Industry and Thrift which America Offers to the Children of all Nations".

On the dome of the Capitol of Pennsylvania is a bronze figure representing "Peace and Plentitude". So

I would have the exterior of our State historical buildings ornamented in sculptural conceptions of the State's beginning, of its progress in learning, and in science, and in commercial development.

State historical society buildings are treasure houses of history. Their interior walls should be decorated with mural paintings, as is the Congressional Library, representing the history of the State. These buildings should have bronze entrance doors representing "Knowledge" and "Wisdom" and "Memory". I believe that a State historical society building should be more than a store-house for a museum and a hiding place for archives. To the contrary it should represent in bronze, in sculpture, and in art, all that makes for history, interest, culture, beauty, scholarship, and higher civilization.

We, of the western States, have had our Cavaliers and our Pilgrim fathers in our pioneers. In the years to come we will respect their memories and read the records of their daily toils and hardships, as Virginia now holds dear the traditions and memories of the founders of Jamestown, and as New England now reveres the memories and records of the little band that landed on her bleak shores three hundred years ago.

These pioneers were a daring and intrepid class of men. They had within them the spirit of adventure and of conquest. They were possessed of something of the old time spirit of an Alexander, of a Caesar, and of William the Conqueror. They were possessed with a desire for exploration as was Columbus. They went to spy out a new land, and they took possession of the prairies and the mountains to the Pacific Coast. In their footsteps has followed the vast tide of immigration which has made States, built up cities, and established seats of learning. It took one hundred and fifty years for the Colonists to expand from the Atlantic to the Alleghanies and to ap-

proximate a population of three millions of people. It took the Nation nearly seventy-five years more to move westward to the Missouri. Within a less period of time States which are empires in extent of territory and nations in their productive wealth, have sprung up in the great West and are having a commanding influence in commerce and in trade the world over, and are holding influential positions in the affairs of the Nation. It is this part of the great Republic which is more and more demanding the attention of the historian.

Time was when the writers of history occupied volumes in writing of the pioneers who penetrated no farther westward than a few hundred miles from the Atlantic seaboard, and spent the rest of their time in talking of battlefields, of the Revolution, and the transactions of the Colonial Congress, seemingly having no appreciation that the great West was making history faster than the Atlantic Coast States ever made it, and that the future prosperity and welfare of this country will ultimately depend upon the strength and mastery in will of the people living in, and westward of, the Mississippi Valley. We might apply to these old historians the language of an English writer:

From of old, it was too often to be reproachfully observed of him, that he dwelt with disproportionate fondness in Senate-houses, in Battle-fields, nay, even in King's Ante-chambers; forgetting, that far away from such scenes, the mighty tide of Thought and Action was still rolling on its wondrous course, in gloom and brightness; and in its thousand remote valleys, a whole world of Existence, with or without an earthly sun of Happiness to warm it, with or without a heavenly sun of Holiness to purify or sanctify it, was blossoming and fading, whether the "famous victory" were won or lost.

The West is passing through a phase of history to which can be found no parallel except in the remote ages of the buried past. Centuries upon centuries ago there

were empires which exist no longer. Cities were built which have been depopulated and crumbled into decay. In those ancient times there were people who spoke languages that are no longer spoken and which are known to us only as they are taught by linguists in colleges or universities. We are in a state of bewilderment when we read of these ancient people whose empires and kingdoms and languages have disappeared. We ask ourselves how could these things transpire?

It is unthinkable to us that New York and Boston and Philadelphia at some future time should crumble into ruins; that the United States government should fall into decay; that the American people should become extinct; and that a new race of people, speaking a new language, should in our stead tread the soil of the American Continent. Yet we know that such a period of transition from one nation to another, and from one people to another, and from one language to another has actually taken place in western Asia and in southeastern Europe.

We, of the West, are to-day witnessing the disappearance of a race of people. The Indian tribes that once possessed this entire country have been driven to the western frontiers and we are the observers of their gradual extinction. Here in the West we can see, and we can feel, going on around and about us, a transition in history almost as remarkable and wonderful as that of the preceding ages which I have mentioned. There is in it a pathos that appeals to our sentimentality and a foundation for a romance in history which can be furnished by no other continent.

But while to us one race of people is becoming extinct, there is a counterpart in the beginning of the creation of a new race of people, which is the composite of all races and all classes who make up our western population — an amalgamation of Norwegians, of Swedes, of Danes, of Irishmen, of Germans, of Frenchmen, and of

Englishmen into the new American man of the West. In that new man may be found the mental and physical characteristics of all these different peoples. In him may be traces of the nervous energy and versatility of the Frenchman, of the progressive push of the German, of the strong will power of the Scotchman, and the conquering spirit and energy of the Englishman. As the Frenchman has superseded the Gaul, as the Englishman has superseded the Briton, as the Anglo-Saxon has peopled America, this new man of the West has already succeeded our Puritan ancestors. These new western men will exercise a dominating influence in the government of States and in the affairs of the Nation.

The States of the West owe it to themselves to preserve in the archives of their historical societies the traditions of adventure and the records of the conquests of the prairies and the uplands and mountains by these daring and courageous pioneers. They owe it to themselves to preserve in substantial form the historical romance of the disappearance of one race of people before the advancing progress of American civilization. The States owe it to themselves to collect and preserve in unperishable form all the material necessary to convey to the people in the generations, yes, even in the centuries to come, a comprehensive understanding of what the wilderness was before the hand of man had transformed it into a granary of wealth and a garden of beauty, and what were the racial characteristics of the people that are to form the new composite man of the great West.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LOUISIANA-TEXAS FRONTIER

BY ISAAC JOSLIN COX

As commonly used the word "frontier", indicating one of the most important geographical factors of history, has two distinct meanings; first, that of the indefinite line which divides the civilized and settled portions of the country from its savage wilderness area; and, in the second place, the metes and bounds which separate different nationalities. Both of these meanings are emphasized in the frontier which is our immediate subject.

The frontier is concerned with certain physiographic factors — rivers and lakes, plains and plateaus, marshes and mountains — that add definiteness to differing national elements. These physical elements in turn are supplemented by human agencies, and of these we may distinguish two important groups: the men who at the forefront bear the brunt of the national struggle for expansion or self-defense; and the rear guard, composed of legislators, executives, or diplomats who strive to make sure of the national prestige won by the former, and who often unjustly obtain credit for the other's work.

Most frontiers soon or late seem likewise to pass through three distinct stages of development. The first we may designate as the period of *definition*, when the various elements that enter into the international play of forces are making themselves felt and are roughly pointing out lines to be marked out by future wars or diplomacy. The second is the stage of *delimitation*, when the above roughly suggested spheres of influence are made more certain by fixed boundaries, following more or less

closely defined national or physiographic areas. The third period may be termed the period of *demolition*, when irresistible influences break through the barriers erected by war or diplomacy, and spreading into regions beyond bring once more into play upon another frontier area the forces of the two earlier periods.

It is in Europe that we naturally find the best examples for frontier study. Here for more than a thousand years German and Slavic or German and Latin elements have waged unending wars in the effort to mark definite limits for national or racial units. Through the long centuries monarchs planned, diplomats schemed, armies fought, and settlers migrated in the attempt to make natural boundaries and racial elements correspond in the upbuilding of national aspirations. Lothringia gives way before the irresistible advance of Austria-Neustria; or a thousand years later, Alsace and Lorraine fall to the German in order to redress the balance of Western Europe. Poland disappears as a separate entity under the pressure of Muscovite, Hapsburg, and Hohenzollern. The Alps and the Pyrennes separate the Latin nations, despite the ambitious attempts of Charles VIII and Francis I, the boast of Louis XIV, or the decree of Napoleon. These significant examples, to say nothing of a host of minor ones, illustrate the general statements already mentioned; but they have their counterparts in the New World where, upon a territorial and physiographic scale greater than Europe affords, the three stages of development are compressed within a time limit that permits a rapid survey of their significant features. Of such North American frontiers we might name the Maine-Acadian of our Northeastern border, the old New York frontier, the Oregon frontier, that of the Old Northwest, and that of the far Southwest — all of which illustrate the points mentioned as vividly as any of their European counterparts. But for the purpose of our present study I have selected

one that surpasses all in the charm of its history, in the importance of the problems which it presents, and in its apt illustration of the various features of frontier life—the Louisiana-Texas frontier—to which we will now turn.

In considering the setting of the Louisiana-Texas frontier, we naturally begin with its extent. In this connection we may assume that “frontier” means the entire area upon which the physiographic and human elements already mentioned play their part. In that sense I feel justified in defining the Louisiana-Texas frontier area in its widest extent as including all that irregular parallelogram between the Lower Mississippi and the Rio Grande, and extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Rocky Mountains. Such an extent would enable one to include within the limits of this sketch the fruitless search of Coronado for Quivira, and the dream of Friar Alonso Benavides of opening communication between that obscure land and the equally uncertain bay of Espiritu Santo; the death scene of La Salle on the Trinity, and of his assassin, L’Archeveque, in the country of the Pawnee Indians; the joyful cheers of Pike’s men on first beholding the Mexican mountains in Colorado, and their still more exultant salute of the American flag flying over Fort Claibourne at Natchitoches; the unsuccessful attempt of Spain to establish her supremacy east of the Sabine, and the failure of Texas to extend her dominion over Santa Fé; the operations of the “Commerce of the Prairies” over the old Santa Fé trail, and the clandestine dealings of French smugglers and traders with the Spanish settlers and neophytes of Texas; the advance of Wilkinson to the Sabine, or of Taylor to the Rio Grande; the *entrada* of De Aguayo into eastern Texas and western Louisiana, or the march of Kearney and Doniphan into New Mexico and Chihuahua; the pushing of American squatters into the valley of the Red and Washita, and the difficulty of retaining Canary Island *pobladores* on

the banks of the San Antonio. All of these factors and many more might properly be included in a study suggested by our title, for all have profoundly influenced the history of this frontier area. But definiteness will lead us to restrict the field of our study largely to the territory between the Red and Sabine rivers, where mission and presidio, trading post and frontier fort, *rancheria* and *maison*, dotted over the prairies and marshes, or marking convenient ford and ferry indicated the respective advances of European agent, French or Spanish Creole, American planter or filibuster, Mexican dictator or exiled revolutionist.

In speaking of the physiographic elements that characterize this frontier area, one naturally first mentions the two rivers so conspicuous in the history of Louisiana and Texas — the Red and the Sabine. Although now merely of local importance, the Red has often been suggested as a possible connecting link for a transcontinental highway, while the Sabine has more than once achieved the dignity of an international boundary. In the course of his negotiations with G. W. Irving the Spanish Minister of State, Pizarro, gravely insisted upon confusing the Red with the Colorado of Texas,¹ while at a later period our Mexican chargé, Butler, tried as solemnly to "mystify" the Mexican Alaman by suggesting a possible confusion between the Sabine and the Sabinas, a small tributary of the Rio Grande.² The possibilities of either as an international limit were at one time passed by in favor of a still more unimportant stream, the Arroyo Hondo, a small bayou flowing into the Red near Natchitoches. This small stream, first selected by the tacit agreement of frontier officials, was destined more than once

¹ *House Executive Document No. 877*, 28th Congress, 1st Session, p. 46; *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, Vol. IV, p. 80.

² *Mexican Dispatches*, Butler to Livingston, No. 32, July 16, 1832, in the Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Department of State.

to rise to international prominence during ensuing frontier discussions. In the vicinity of these two main streams the country abounded in marshes and swamps, and was cut up by numerous bayous, the whole affording an admirable opportunity for the French to carry on illicit trade with the Texas Indians,³ or, later, for American adventurers to smuggle negroes from Galveston Island into Louisiana.⁴ Remote from these streams ran the mighty flood of the Mississippi, bearing the tide of expansion towards the Southwest, and the long drawn out but uncertain current of the Rio Grande. Upon the western bank of the Red the French, by 1716, had established Natchitoches, a trading post and the center of a small community of French *habitants*; and some twenty miles distant, across the Arroyo Hondo, stood Adaes, occupied by a small presidial guard of Spanish soldiers who were supposed to protect a group of languishing Franciscan Missions. Upon the eastern bank of the Mississippi sat New Orleans, the capital of French Louisiana; and still further to the eastward lay Mobile, the earlier capital of that same province. These two points, forming the rear guard of French influence, were matched by the Spanish San Antonio de Bexar, about one hundred and fifty miles east of the middle course of the Rio Grande, and Chihuahua, about the same distance west of the upper course of that river. These places in the contested frontier area formed the chief supports of their respective outposts, Natchitoches and Adaes — although at different times Mexico City and Washington, London, Paris, and Madrid, exerted their influence upon the frontier forces, while Queretaro, Zacatecas, and Guadalajara profoundly influenced its religious life.

³ Bolton's *The Spanish Abandonment and Reoccupation of East Texas, 1773-1779*, in *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, Vol. IX, pp. 87-137.

⁴ Barker's *The African Slave Trade in Texas* in *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, Vol. VI, pp. 145-158.

In this frontier area many conflicting human elements working through the various physiographic factors mentioned above played an important part in rounding out our national domain. These elements naturally fall into two classes, the national factors or agents and individual occupation types. Among these national factors we may name for France, La Salle, Tonty, St. Denis, and Bienville; for Spain, De Leon, Mazanet, De Aguayo, and Sandoval, or later such adopted subjects as De Mezieres; and for the United States, Nolan, Davenport, Claiborne, Robinson, Long, of the earlier period, and Austin and Houston of the later. Mexico succeeds to the place of Spain; the United States or Texas to the place of France and Great Britain; the Colony of Louisiana becomes the Louisiana Purchase and the Internal Provinces are separated from the Mexican Viceroyalty; State replaces province and county succeeds *ayuntamiento*; but the struggle along the frontier continues despite change in political unit or national allegiance. From the standpoint of individual occupation, explorer and missionary, *conquistador* and presidial commander are balanced by French *voyageur* and *habitant*, fur-trader and Indian agent. The struggles of the earlier period between these typical frontier factors are continued at a later period when American and Mexican, pioneer and explorer, filibuster or revolutionist, squatter and settler, insecure official and unready subject continue the struggle for supremacy. With these human elements playing upon the physiographic factors there is presented for our view a bit of border history that suffers in comparison with no other area between conflicting civilizations.

These agents on the frontier are supplemented, and in many cases apparently overshadowed by the legislators and diplomats of the various capitals; and although the annals of legislation and diplomacy seem unusually full in comparison with those offered by the frontiersmen,

yet it is to the latter that we ultimately owe the preservation of the Louisiana-Texas frontier area and our ultimate expansion to the westward.

Having mentioned some of the factors which played a momentous part in the development of the Louisiana-Texas frontier, it may be well to consider for the remainder of this paper the significant features of its history through the three periods which mark its successive stages of development. The first of these to be considered is that which we choose to call "*The Period of Definition*", and in the history of our particular frontier this may be regarded as extending to 1760, when we meet with the first definite suggestion of the Sabine as a possible international limit.⁵ For more than two centuries before this date the Spaniards had been gradually advancing from Mexico City to the north and northeast. In the Valley of the Upper Rio Grande, Coronado, Espejo, Oñate, and Benavides, marked by their careers successive stages of Spanish advance to the Rio Grande and beyond, which Friar Alonzo Posades in 1685 fittingly summarized; but in that very year the Frenchman, La Salle, made his unfortunate landing upon the coast of Texas and presented himself as a competitor for the region between the Mississippi and the Rio Grande. His death removed immediate peril to the Spanish claims, but Spanish *entradas* from 1689 to 1693 emphasized the fears which the vice regal court felt towards French aggression. Then, despite the efforts of the frontier commander and missionary, the Spanish rulers lost their interest in Texas and abandoned the territory to the aborigines. After twenty years' silence French traders once more arouse the Spanish court from its lethargy, and after 1716 a new series

⁵ The detailed references to the sources upon which this sketch of border history, up to 1803, is based will be found in an article by the present writer entitled *The Louisiana-Texas Frontier*, in *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, Vol. X, pp. 1-75.

of Spanish *entradas* establish the hold of that government upon eastern Texas. From this date the French at Natchitoches and the Spaniards at Adaes face each other as representatives of uncertain territorial claims, on the one side to the Rio Grande and on the other to the Mississippi. Each, however, is led by dynastic or frontier conditions to tolerate the other, with the result that midway between their respective fortifications they select a small stream, the Arroyo Hondo, to mark their respective local jurisdictions. As no other important settlements exist to the north or to the south of this point other designated limits are unnecessary, although those officials who look forward to the future perceive the necessity of some such delimitation if hostile collision is to be averted. Occasional controversies arise between frontier subalterns or Spanish viceroy and French governor; and as a result of one of these in the late fifties, Governor Martos y Navarrete of Texas makes the first suggestion of the Sabine, in connection with the Red and the Missouri, as one of the possible limits for dividing French and Spanish possessions in America.* His suggestion remains unheeded for forty years, because the exigencies of the family compact and of the Seven Years' War throw Louisiana into Spanish keeping; but the mention of the Sabine has a significance which the future clearly reveals and we may take this suggestion and its probable date, 1760, as the time when the first period of our frontier history, that of *Definition*, properly comes to a close.

In entering upon the second period of this frontier history, that of *Delimitation*, it may reasonably seem that after 1762 there is no reason for marking a definite boundary between Louisiana and Texas. Both are now under

* *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, Vol. X, pp. 24-26. The proposed delimitation is given in Volume XLIII, *Sección de Historia*, Archive General, Mexico, in which volume it comprises some nineteen paragraphs of Document LXX.

Spanish dominion, or at least shortly to be so, and the necessity for keeping them separate would seem a thing of the past. Such, however, is not the view of the Spanish government. Louisiana is a Spanish colony, but one enjoying certain commercial privileges that are not to extend to other Spanish colonies, and in order to preserve the wall of Spanish commercial exclusion elsewhere, the frontier line separating Louisiana and Texas is to be emphasized, not obliterated. During this period of delimitation, so far as definite Spanish policy is concerned, local officials suggest two methods of procedure. In 1767 the Marqués de Rubi makes an inspection of Texas forts and missions. He now perceives that the important frontier problem is that of protecting the interior civilization of Mexico against the flood of native barbarism, and for this purpose he suggests an abandonment of eastern Texas and a concentration of Spanish strength upon the San Antonio and Rio Grande rivers. An opposite policy is suggested by a Frenchman in Spanish service, Athanacio de Mesieres, who believes in meeting these problems of civilization against barbarism by extending at the same time the line of national defense. He suggests advancing into the Indian territory with a cordon of forts running from the Mississippi through Santa Fé to the Pacific. In this way he would not only control the barbarian Indians on the north, but also check any encroachment of the English from the east of the Mississippi.

For ten years these two policies ran counter to each other at Chihuahua and at Vera Cruz, at New Orleans and Mexico, at Seville and at Madrid. The Mexican Viceroy attempts to compel the abandonment of eastern Texas; the Texas Governor with the encouragement of his Louisiana colleague thwarts his efforts and permits the continued occupation of that region. As a result of this struggle the Indians continue their depredations upon the Mexican settlements; clandestine commerce flourishes

in the eastern part of Texas; English traders, abetted by French creoles from Louisiana, at will visit the unsubdued Indians; and the close of the century witnesses the arrival of a more dreaded element, the American frontiersman. Philip Nolan, the filibuster and horse trader, and Samuel Davenport, ranchman and Indian factor, are typical representatives of this last national element, and they arouse the resentment equally of the Spanish Governor in Texas and of the French Bishop of Louisiana. These point out the danger of this new migration, in view of the unsettled frontier conditions; but despite their warnings and the counsel of those who had preceded them, the frontier line remains unmarked, while the reactionary authorities rigidly adhere to their policy of separating Louisiana and Texas.

With the transfer of Louisiana to France and later to the United States, all previous questions regarding the frontier are revived, together with many new ones suggesting difficult problems for the immediate future. Explorers, unauthorized settlers, illegal traders, negro slaves — the last introducing a new problem in this region — all arouse the fears of the Spanish frontier commanders; while their superiors at Mexico or at Madrid perceive too late the importance of earlier suggestions for fixing a definite boundary at the Sabine, and unavailingly attempt to revive proposals disregarded for more than four decades. It was natural that diplomacy should at first play an emphatic part in the period of uncertainty following the transfer. To this Napoleon had appealed to wrest Louisiana from the unwilling Spanish King, and he sanctioned the efforts of his foreign agents to embroil the United States with its new neighbors. The order of Decrès and the interpretation of Talleyrand regarding the limits of Louisiana were both used in an attempt to bargain with the United States.⁷

⁷ See entry for March 16, 1805, in Monroe's manuscript Journal in

Meanwhile, Jefferson and his advisers revive and emphasize the earlier claims of France, based on La Salle's work, to the country as far westward as the Rio Grande; but, as in the case of his constitutional scruples, Jefferson was willing to modify these claims to suit the exigencies of the occasion. His agent, Monroe, was accordingly instructed to bend all his efforts to acquire the Floridas, even at the expense of sacrifices on the western frontier.* The Spanish Ministers of State, deceiving, cajoling, threatening by turns, at last lost interest in all questions at issue with the United States in the gloomier prospect of absorption in Napoleon's universal empire. Finally, Charles IV and Godoy, Jefferson and Madison, alike form a mere group of tools whose wishes Napoleon at will sacrifices to his continental system.

Meanwhile, on the border, the questions of jurisdiction, of Indian alliance, of border explorations, of escaping slaves, and of inter-settlement trade, were all cast into the shade by the rumor of Burr's daring project to invade the Spanish domains of Mexico; and this year, 1806, marked a more significant crisis than had hitherto threatened the Louisiana-Texas frontier. When, however, the unscrupulous Wilkinson betrayed his fellow-conspirator and formed with Herrera the Neutral Ground Convention, the immediate peril to Spanish interest was deferred, inasmuch as the American commander, following the instructions of the Washington Cabinet, agreed to remain to the eastward of the Arroyo Hondo, thus emphasizing the Franco-Spanish limit of the preceding century; while the Spaniard was to retire beyond the Sabine, which other official writers had already marked out as a

Spanish Dispatches, Vol. VIII, Bureau of Indexes and Archives; also the letter of Armstrong to Monroe, dated Paris, March 12, 1805, in the *Letters of James Monroe* in the Lenox Branch of the New York Public Library.

* Instructions of Madison to Monroe and Pinckney, *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, Vol. II, pp. 628 ff.

possible national limit.⁹ Into the intervening neutral ground, supposedly abandoned by both nations for the time being only, but really for fifteen years, there immediately flocked every species of outlaw, forming a motley population that speedily acquired an unsavory reputation on either side of the line. Thereupon followed a most interesting period in American border history, for in Mexico there broke out a revolution against the Spanish power with which the majority of American citizens, particularly in the Mississippi Valley, thoroughly sympathized. Thus occurred the unhealthful but natural combination of the Mexican revolutionist with the American filibuster — a combination which proved the source of unnumbered woes in American diplomatic annals. Political refugees from Mexico, such as Gutierrez and Menchaca¹⁰ found a ready asylum in this neutral zone where no law flourished. Here sympathizing American filibusters like John H. Robinson¹¹ and Augustus McGee¹² readily met and conferred with them and planned forays against the Spanish power in Texas and Mexico. The Spanish creole Toledo,¹³ and the guerrilla, Mina,¹⁴ with their ill-assorted followers used it as a point of vantage from which to or-

⁹ McCaleb's *The Aaron Burr Conspiracy*, p. 150 ff.

¹⁰ Among the "Letters to and from Ministers, etc." in the *East Florida Manuscripts*, Library of Congress, is an interesting communication from the Spanish minister De Onis to Governor Estrada, dated at Philadelphia, January 21, 1812, in which he mentions the arrival of these two men at Natchitoches, Louisiana.

¹¹ Letters and other documents relating to Robinson are found in the manuscript volumes of the Bureau of Rolls and Library, Department of State, under the titles "Louisiana and the Southern Boundary," "Papers in Relation to Burr's Conspiracy," "Papers Relating to the Revolted Spanish Colonies," and in the Monroe letters mentioned in Note 7.

¹² For the expedition in which he was associated with Gutierrez, see Yoakum's *History of Texas*, Ch. XII, and McCaleb's *The First Period of the Gutierrez-Magee Expedition in The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, Vol. IV, pp. 218-229.

¹³ For Toledo, see the sources mentioned in Note 11.

¹⁴ *Miscellaneous Letters*, Vol. XLIX, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Department of State.

ganize for war against the Mexican viceroy or to quarrel with their ambitious colleagues or rivals. Their resulting methods involved the neutrality of the American government,¹⁵ compromised Monroe and his subordinates with the Spanish authorities, encouraged a general spirit of lawlessness and adventure in the southwest, and engendered on the part of both Mexicans and Americans a hearty mutual distrust that colored all their subsequent relations. When to these elements were added exiled officers from Napoleon's armies,¹⁶ political adventurers from South America, land hungry speculators from the United States, and former pirates from the Louisiana bayous, the confusion which had settled upon this frontier became worse confounded.¹⁷

At Washington and Madrid a continually shifting diplomatic policy added to the uncertainty of the frontier situation. But after 1817 this diplomacy was wisely directed with unerring aim by John Quincy Adams; and when through the compliance of his associates and of his chief, Monroe, he was finally forced to give up American claims to Texas,¹⁸ he gained more than double compensation in succeeding to all of Spain's claims to the Oregon territory. By the Treaty of 1819 he obtained the line of the forty-second parallel to the Pacific, and in exchange agreed to accept as the western limit of Louisiana and of the United States the Sabine River — a limit which a Texas Governor had suggested sixty years before and which was now definitely incorporated in an international

¹⁵ This is shown in the correspondence of Monroe, John Graham, and W. C. C. Claiborne as given in the sources mentioned in Note 11 and in the volumes of *Miscellaneous Letters*.

¹⁶ Rosengarten's *French Colonists and Exiles in America*, Ch. XIV; Reeve's *The Napoleonic Exiles in America*; and *Miscellaneous Letters*, *passim*.

¹⁷ *The National Intelligencer*, September 1, 1821.

¹⁸ *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, Vol. IV, p. 145; Von Holst's *Constitutional History of the United States*, Vol. II, p. 550.

treaty. A limit has now been set for the Louisiana Purchase and the date of ratifying this Treaty, 1821, fittingly closes our second period of frontier history.

The work of definition and delimitation had hardly been accomplished before the unavoidable course of the third period of frontier history begins, and the boundary that had been constructed with so much effort immediately feels the process of demolition. The first step is marked by the land grant of the Spanish government, later accepted by the Mexican, to Moses Austin and his son Stephen, the first and most important of Texas *empresarios*. The work of these men was so quickly followed up by other claimants—American, Mexican, English, Irish and German—that an American diplomat could well say later that the Mexicans certainly could not think much of Texas because they were so willing to give it away,¹⁹ and we may add “so many times over”. Most of these grantees introduced American settlers and brought up the question of the relations of these immigrants to the established authorities of the country. In a short time there occurred the inevitable clash between diverse modes of living. The “Fredonian War” of 1826 was but a prelude to the Texan struggle for independence which occurred ten years later, and led the Mexican government to repent of its liberal attitude towards the Americans and, after 1830, vainly to attempt to put up the barriers which it had once incontinently thrown down.²⁰

The diplomacy of this period centers around the natural and ill-concealed distrust which the Mexican government felt for the United States, despite the debt of gratitude which it owed the latter.²¹ Our government, under

¹⁹ Instructions of Clay to Poinsett, *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, Vol. VI.

²⁰ Lorenzo de Zavala to J. R. Poinsett, February 2, 1830, *Poinsett Papers in the Pennsylvania Historical Society*.

²¹ *Dietamen — por la Comision de Relaciones Exteriores*, December

both Adams and Jackson, made offers to purchase Texas, which Mexico positively refused to entertain. Jackson's views even included California as far south as San Francisco Bay, in addition to the territory between the Sabine and the Rio Grande, thus emphasizing the inevitable truth that if the Louisiana-Texas frontier were once crossed American expansion must ultimately extend to the Pacific. The efforts of the diplomats to purchase Texas, however, proved unavailing, but the contest between Mexico and the United States was decided by the frontiersmen, when Houston overwhelmed Santa Anna at San Jacinto.

This event established Texas as an independent republic, and its recognition as such by the United States quickly followed. Whether Texas should remain independent, a sort of buffer State between the United States and Mexico, and likewise a vantage ground for English and French diplomats, was a question that nine years of independence answered in the negative. Van Buren, overwhelmed by domestic problems, rejected the first offer of Texan annexation. It was thus necessary to survey the Louisiana-Arkansas line where it touched Texas; and this was the only portion of our frontier ever definitely marked as an international limit. But with the rejection of Texas's first offer of annexation that power began a policy of coquetting with Great Britain that in the long run forced the issue before the American people.²² That issue was now no longer one of mere national expansion, but was so combined with the demoralizing element of slavery that the American people were unwilling at first to accept even the renewed offer. The election of 1844 decided this question, and the subsequent annexation of Texas

2, 1821, manuscript copy made for J. R. Poinsett, Mexico, 1829; *Mexican Dispatches*, Bureau of Indexes and Archives.

²² Garrison's *The First Stage of the Movement for the Annexation of Texas*, in *American Historical Review*, Vol. X, pp. 72-96; also Garrison's *Westward Extension*, pp. 96, 110.

removed the danger of a Poland on our southwestern border. Polk, as the new President elected upon the issue of annexation in August, 1845, gave General Taylor the order to advance into Texas. In obedience to this order Taylor first took up a post on the Nueces, and in the following spring advanced to the Rio Grande.²³ With this move the Louisiana-Texas frontier is demolished and the American government begins the task of erecting a new national boundary far to the southwest.

²³ Fulmore's *The Annexation of Texas and the Mexican War*, in *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, Vol. V, pp. 22-48; Von Holst's *Constitutional History of the United States*, Vol. III, pp. 94, 227.

THE BID OF THE WEST FOR THE NATIONAL CAPITAL

BY OLYNTHUS B. CLARK

INTRODUCTORY

The capitals of countries have generally been located and established in terms of military defense. In warfare the capital has been the chief factor in determining the line of campaign: it was the goal toward which an invading horde or army would move. A nation was regarded as fortunate and comparatively safe, if its capital was well located and secure from attack, either by natural or artificial safeguards. The ruler was inseparably linked with his capital.

With the gradual expansion of the nation there was seldom, for obvious reasons, a moving of the ruler's capital; consequently with the great nations the capitals early became historic places — constant reminders of the nation's life at every important crisis. There are few instances of deliberate changes, though there are notable exceptions.¹ When, however, changes were wrought they were usually the result of, or accompanied by, great civil upheavals, or by new external alignments.

In the locating of the capital of the United States unusual circumstances created a new series of factors. Its geographical position and its mere physical habitat were of little consequence. It could easily be moved; and so, when the British took the rebel capital, Philadelphia, they very soon discovered that they had really taken nothing. During the entire formative period the seat of government was migratory, having been set up at twelve

¹ St. Petersburg, Constantinople, and Berlin may be noted.

different places in the fifteen years before its establishment at Washington, which was expressly founded for that purpose. But even then its permanent location was not definitely comprehended by the men of the two succeeding generations. There were at least three reasons for this: (1) the rapid expansion of the country, the ever increasing territorial domain and the attendant spread of population producing a constantly shifting center of gravity; (2) the democratic theory and practice of equal rights and privileges as applied to this shifting of the political centers in the western commonwealths — there being few States whose capitals remain where first set up (and the same holds good with the smaller units, the counties, for there are few that have not had their "county-seat contests"); and (3) there was always present a feeling that Washington, from either a military or naval point of view, was not a good location.

It is not the purpose of this paper to follow the fortunes of the capital in its establishment nor in the earliest attempts to change its location, but to study the movement incident to the great changes wrought by the Civil War and the consequent rise of the West into conscious political power. The first serious attempt to re-locate the capital, however, was immediately after the second war with Great Britain and was induced by the burning of the capitol by the British in 1814. The second effort, which was in 1846, was the result of political and sectional interests and differences. The third and the most formidable movement came after the Civil War, the initial step being taken about 1867 and ending in 1871. The idea, however, took root during the war and continued for some years after the movement ended.

This third movement originated in the Middle West, and while it assumed large proportions it never attained the strength and dignity of a really national or popular movement. It was, however, pressed upon the attention

of the national government and its claims to national importance were strenuously urged. The removal was declared to be necessary ² on account of the changed conditions — in territory and population, in inland industrial development, and in the civil dangers and political corruption in Washington. The leaders claimed that their actions were dictated by a real concern for the stability of our institutions and even the permanency of the government itself.

But while the movement was not national in scope, and in the very nature of the case could not be since it was the demand of a section for political power and control, yet it pressed itself upon the attention of the nation; it was organized and constantly sought organization upon a national basis. The catalog of activities, bids, threats, and demands presents, indeed, a formidable aspect. There was a "National Executive Committee"; two national conventions were held; the press of the Middle West became the propagandist medium; while pamphlets, letters, petitions, resolutions, and memorials were issued *ad infinitum*. A State constitutional convention in session took action; one Republican State convention by resolution urged removal; county boards, city councils, and State legislatures made bids and offered grants of land for the capital; one individual offered to donate five hundred acres if the seat of government should come to his town.³ At least six legislatures passed resolutions urging Congress to act. A lobby was maintained at Washington and resolutions and bills were offered in Congress, two Representatives making exhaustive speeches on the floor of the House. There was sharp rivalry among the cities and towns of the West for the capital — some acted in jest, perhaps, but others took the matter quite seriously.

² *Memorial of National Capital Convention of Cincinnati*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, No. 108.

³ Henry W. Blow of St. Louis.

The men who made the speeches, drew up the resolutions, and wrote the editorials always urged their cause by pointing to the wide-spread interest of the people in the movement as well as to its justness. Yet, with all this activity and assured popular interest and feeling in the cause, the proposition failed. Why? The answer is found in the positive movement in behalf of Washington City. By the failure of this movement one thing became forever settled, fixed, and established, namely, the permanent location of the seat of government at Washington. The life of the old capital hung in the balance; the issue sifted down was simply appropriations or no appropriations for new buildings and improvements.

GROWTH AND SPIRIT OF THE MIDDLE WEST

The Mississippi Valley had been gradually growing into a position of prominence and toward political leadership. With its immense physical basis, its boundless, almost bewildering expanse, and its inexhaustible resources it had by 1860 come to possess nearly half the population and more than half the products. This section was able to take a dominant part in the organization of a new political party and even, by producing an available candidate, dictate both the party nominee and the policy.⁴ It took a leading part in the Civil War, giving a million men to the cause; and likewise it played a leading role in Reconstruction, still in progress at the close of the decade. It had by this time also become a large factor in productive industry. Such a section, one which had contributed so much to the past and had done so much for the life of the nation, could not be expected to remain unconscious of itself. Then, too, the earlier West had by this time become the Middle West, truly the very "heart of the country".⁵ It discovered itself during the Civil

⁴ Illinois furnished in Abraham Lincoln the nominee and Iowa furnished John A. Kasson, who wrote the platform of 1860.

⁵ A favorite term used by the advocates of capital removal.

War, became self-conscious, and, what would be more natural than that it should impose itself upon the consciousness of others?

The population of the Valley, despite the Civil War, was increased by immigration and migration during the decade of the sixties. The 36,400,000 in 1860 gave to the ten Middle West States, with an area of 624,000 square miles, a population of 12,300,000 — more by 2,000,000 than the entire South, although having 125,000 square miles less in area. The New England States, with 65,000 square miles, had 3,400,000 population; while the Middle Seaboard States, with 137,000 square miles, had a population of 10,000,000. By 1870 the entire population of the country was 50,000,000, with the bulk of the increase in this group of States. Already in 1860 Illinois, with 400 miles of Mississippi River frontage, ranked fourth in population; by 1870, having contributed so vastly to the armies and to the peopling of the States beyond, she held the same rank, showing that she had reached a central position — receiving and giving out. By this time the center of population had reached western Ohio. The greatest relative increase is seen in the States just beyond the Mississippi River barrier. Missouri is typical of this shifting, for she rose from fourteenth place to fifth in rank; while Iowa made the jump from twenty-seventh to fifteenth. Other States of this section made similar advances.

Foreign immigration was interrupted at the opening of the Civil War; but according to Frederick Kopp, Commissioner of Immigration at Castle Garden, by 1863 there was again "a progressive population, without any noticeable deviation from North-East to South-West".* By 1867-1868 it was again normal. During the eight years ending with 1869 a total of 1,383,013 foreigners largely

* *Missouri Republican*, March 23, 1870.

German and Irish entered.⁷ In the year 1869 alone there were 280,278 entries at New York from Great Britain, Germany, and the Scandinavian states.⁸ Boston, New York, and several other eastern centers received some of these, and the Pacific coast some — California getting 12,000 — but the great bulk settled in the Middle West. The inland cities began to grow. For example, St. Louis increased in population during the decade from 160,773 to 312,963;⁹ Chicago and Cincinnati increased at the same rate (about 160%); while Chicago led her two rivals. This same rate held good for the whole State of Missouri, her population changing from 1,182,000 to 2,000,000.¹⁰

This increase of population was partly due to organized activity in the West; towns, physiographical units, and States had their population propaganda at work. The West, it is true, had always made efforts to attract the people of the seaboard East; but after the Civil War there was a marked activity, and they also bid for the foreigners. In 1869 an Irish Immigration Convention was held at St. Louis, and a society was formed whose object was to secure the Irish for the West and the South.¹¹ Moreover the society was determined that the aim should not be "side-tracked by politicians". The legislature of Missouri in March, 1870, voted \$3,000 for 1,000 descriptive maps for distribution in Europe.¹² Some editors thought such methods ineffective and wasteful, suggesting instead the subsidizing of the newspapers. The legislature of Iowa took action,¹³ as did also the various railroad companies, forming boards of immigration. An "Immigrant Aid Society" for western Iowa was formed, with headquar-

⁷ *Missouri Republican*, July 15, 1870.

⁸ *Missouri Republican*, March 22, 1870.

⁹ *Missouri Republican*, March 19, 1870.

¹⁰ *Missouri Republican*, March 30, 1870.

¹¹ *Missouri Republican*, September 25, 1869.

¹² *Missouri Republican*, March 28, 1870.

¹³ *Journal of the Thirteenth General Assembly of Iowa*, 1870.

ters at Council Bluffs.¹⁴ Of course the Middle West did not get all the movers; many went to the farther Southwest and to the coast frontier. During the first four months of 1870 15,200 people made the trip over the just completed Union Pacific Railroad to San Francisco alone; and Dr. Kenworth, president of the Allgemine Colonization Gesellschaft, in April, 1870, reported 300 heads of families for California, with an advance guard of 1000 families more, to follow.¹⁵ The Middle West, however, saw in this farther West movement a realization of their purpose to become the recognized center, political and governmental, of the country.

But one of the great aims of this section was to unite the length and breadth of the Mississippi Valley. Joseph Medill, editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, saw in this movement "a complete forgetting of the old slavery line", and he declared that "this valley will include such a commanding proportion of population and productive wealth . . . that its voice will be the voice of the nation . . . and will control, direct and govern all interests pertaining to the Republic".¹⁶ *This is the key to an understanding of this capital removal episode.* The East beheld with deep concern this spirit and activity in the West, especially the effort thus to unify the commercial and industrial interests of the entire Valley. The *New York Commercial Advertiser*¹⁷ gave out the warning that the South saw in the West an ally, for in those States there was "a more tolerant and hopeful faith". The New South could readily attach itself to them, since they "evinced a magnanimity of spirit in the Old South's hour of defeat and suffering". There was, too, some indication that the South was bidding for this alliance with signs that it would be

¹⁴ *The Iowa State Register*, March, 1870.

¹⁵ *The Iowa State Register*, April 23, 1870.

¹⁶ *Chicago Tribune*, July 23, 1869.

¹⁷ Quoted in the *Missouri Republican*, January 29, 1890.

made soon and firm. The old relation of New England to the Old South and this new relation of the West to the New South might well cause the East to fear the western statesmen now challenging political leadership. But while the western politicians, merchants, and railroad builders were after that unity, it must be said that it was as much born of a spirit of selfish commercialism as an evidence of magnanimity. The South felt this to be the case and mistrusted the northern West, which section never won the South sufficiently to obtain her aid in the bid for the seat of government.

By this time the former wild, ungovernable spirit of speculation, prior to the decade of the sixties had given place to sound development. Everywhere it was subdued and conquer, produce and accumulate, and with its tremendous resources it is no wonder that this great "heart of the continent" had come to find out that it was the heart, that it was indispensable, and that it came to believe that it should also be the head.

This commercial development took, besides producing the raw material, two forms of activity, namely, railroad building and factory building. One is amazed at the number of, and the interest in, railroad meetings and commercial conventions in these years. Towns all through the Valley held meetings to secure some railroad or to bring trade. This was not new, but there was a marked revival after the Civil War. Parties of railroad promoters and merchants were common. The Northern Pacific Railroad party returned to Minneapolis, August 5, 1869.¹⁸ The J. Cook Exploring Party was given a grand reception at Walla Walla in August, 1869. An Eastern Railroad party,¹⁹ headed by J. Gould of the Erie Railroad, was in St. Louis from May 9th to 11th, where they were shown the "stock yards" and the "business inter-

¹⁸ *Chicago Tribune*, August 7, 1869.

¹⁹ *Missouri Republican*, May 11, 12, 1869.

ests". The catalog of conventions and parties would be a long one.²⁰ Substantial advance in railroading is seen in the press of the time, from a notice of the great Eads bridge at St. Louis, just commenced,²¹ to that of the first through-car service from St. Louis to New York. We read: "Pulman's celebrated palace drawing-room cars . . . without change of cars . . . seat secured at the start and connections are all sure. . . . Passenger nothing to do but enjoy himself." This was with pride spoken of as "certainly a near approach to perfection in railroading".²²

An enthusiastic promoter²³ of this "heart of the continent" slogan predicted that the United States might find it necessary to construct trunk lines for traffic, and double track them on the 38th parallel from the Mississippi River to the Pacific, a length of 2000 miles — and this was said to be "a fit and legitimate culmination of the rail-road ideas now entertained". But the important thing is that this double track steel band would unite and strengthen the business, social, and political interests of the country; and, ere a great while, the traveler could, from a central span of the great Eads bridge, behold the going and coming of the argosies of an empire of 100,000,000 population.

The year 1869 witnessed three very notable commercial conventions in three sections of the Mississippi Valley and two great industrial expositions with a plan for a monster world's industrial exposition. The interesting fact to note is that these were promoted and participated in by representatives from the whole Valley. The people of the Middle West even made an attempt to secure the centennial celebration which was just then being agitated

²⁰ *Missouri Republican*, August 11, 1869.

²¹ *Bloomington Pantagraph*, July and August, 1869.

²² *Missouri Republican*, August 21, 1869.

²³ B. R. Bonner of St. Louis in *Missouri Republican*, April 8, 1870.

— and this, too, in perfect harmony with the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the firmer establishment of the Union — and in the name of true patriotism and justice demanded it.

The most significant industrial convention and exposition of the year 1869 was the Textile Convention at Cincinnati, held from August 3rd to 7th under the auspices of the Woollen Manufacturers' Association of the Northwest. The *Chicago Tribune* ²⁴ thought it unfortunate that it limited representation to the southern and western States. However, of the 165 exhibitors, twenty were from the East, yet the chief prizes went to the West ²⁵ — a result highly gratifying to this section. All the States of the South and West were represented, and Cincinnati regarded the exposition as the "greatest event" in her history.²⁶ It was a marked triumph in the unification of the sections of the Valley.

The great commercial conventions of the year were held at New Orleans in May, at Keokuk in September, and at Louisville in October. The convention down on the gulf was held first and much applauded; but it was to be a mere curtain-raiser to those up the Valley. The Keokuk Convention was a real western "booster" meeting for river improvement, etc., while the Louisville Convention was designed to win the East by allowing their magnates to control the convention. The venerable ex-President Millard Fillmore was made the chairman, but it is said, at a critical juncture, yielded the chair to an Eastern promoter to get through the Southern Pacific Railroad resolution. To the South was left nothing but the title, "Southern Commercial Convention".

At these latter two conventions the first bid was made for the national capital before large representative gath-

²⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, August 2, 1869.

²⁵ *Chicago Tribune*, August 7, 1869.

²⁶ *Chicago Tribune*, August 9, 1869.

erings. At Keokuk, under the leadership of one of the judges of the United States Supreme Court, Justice Samuel Miller of Iowa, it was passed, while at Louisville²⁷ the capital resolution failed.

The great capital movement of the year 1869 had not yet been launched when the New Orleans meeting was held; but it appeared just before the Keokuk Convention, in the shape of a call for a national capital convention to be held at St. Louis in October following. We must now seek the origin and the first expressions of this movement.

ORIGIN OF THE MOVEMENT

As stated above, the great movement for the removal of the capital began actively in the summer of 1869; yet, this was rather the time when the first steps were taken to call a convention and organize a campaign for removal. Some time before this it had been discussed in the public press and also brought into the halls of Congress. As has also been stated above, the movement at this time to remove the capital was coterminous with the need for and the attempt to obtain appropriations for extensive improvements at Washington.

In the second session of the Fortieth Congress, on December 16, 1867, John A. Logan offered a joint resolution²⁸ asking for the appointment of a committee "to report on the expediency of re-locating the capital of the United States". It was read twice and referred to the Committee on Ways and Means. On February 3rd following, Representative Carman A. Newcomb of Missouri, in connection with the Horticulturalist Bill, proposed the removal of the capital to St. Louis County, Missouri.²⁹ This likewise was referred to the same committee. That this proposition was not taken very seriously is seen in

²⁷ *Missouri Republican*, October 17, 1869.

²⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 40th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 209.

²⁹ *Congressional Globe*, 40th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 935.

another resolution, offered on February 10th by Representative Herbert E. Paine of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. It read:

Resolved, That the seat of government ought to be removed to the Valley of the Mississippi.

The previous question was put on this resolution, and the main question ordered, when points of order for information were raised and a bit of good-natured sparring engaged in.³⁰ Brooks of New York facetiously inquired whether parts of New York and Pennsylvania were not in the Mississippi Valley. But the query not being "a parliamentary question", according to Speaker Colfax, the vote was taken and resulted in the astonishing proportion of 77 yeas to 97 nays, 15 not voting.³¹ This was a genuine surprise, an "eye-opener" to some of the Eastern jokers. It may be worth while to note that the list of affirmative voters included such names as Shelby M. Cullom, George W. Julien, J. W. Ashley, John Coburn, William B. Allison, James F. Wilson, Grenville M. Dodge, Elihu B. Washburn, John A. Logan, and William Windom. These men were already among the recognized leaders of the West and prominent in the halls of Congress.

Nothing more was done until June 15, 1868, when Logan again attempted to start things by offering a series of resolutions,³² elaborating on the need for removal and beginning with the radical, or at least indiscreet, introduction: "Whereas, it is obvious that a disloyal element exists in the city of Washington", and closing with a resolution which read:

That a committee of five members be appointed by the

³⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 40th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 1084, 1085.

³¹ "Considering that this was the first time a proposition for the relocation of the Capital has ever been seriously entertained or acted upon, the result ought to be accepted as an encouraging one." — *The Iowa State Register* (Daily), February 19, 1868.

³² *Congressional Globe*, 40th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 3714.

speaker, to inquire into the propriety and expediency of removing the seat of the general government from said city of Washington, to a point near the geographical center of the United States.

But on a vote as to whether the resolution should even be received, only 47 supported it. Obviously, Logan's radical introduction would hardly be conducive to hastening the coveted unity of the northern and southern sections of the Mississippi Valley. The decisive drop in the vote as compared to the earlier one is easily accounted for: the Reconstruction feeling on both sides is manifest.

Logan now became the recognized champion of the cause of removal; and while, as was said,²³ Logan's "scheme to put the capital on wheels" was "kicked over", it was merely the first skirmish, for the "Black Eagle" of Illinois was a fighter. The Eastern men redoubled their efforts to put through improvement appropriations, as absolutely necessary to hold the capital at Washington; at the same time the Western advocates of removal sought by skilful diplomacy to postpone appropriations as absolutely their only hope of securing the capital.

In the next session of Congress the appropriation bill was introduced. Friends of the measure pointed out the great need for more room — a new Executive Mansion, a building for the State, War, and Navy departments, and many other improvements, including additional land. They complained that since 1855 only \$320,000 had been appropriated; but the western insurgents showed that of this sum only \$206,000 could be accounted for in a long list of improvement items, and many of these were useless and extravagant. They charged official corruption; besides much of the money had been

²³ *Missouri Republican*, June 16, 1868; *Chicago Tribune*, July 7, 1869.

“divided among marble-cutters and bronze-casters, and the like”.³⁴

Both sides acknowledged the inadequacy of the public buildings for the growing government business. But why not take the government where there is plenty of room? They said that \$16,000,000 are now needed; and in a few years the government will need to expend as much as would be required to remove it. Would it not be wise, therefore, first to determine its final location? ³⁵

In the spring of 1869 Representative Erastus Wells of Missouri prepared a resolution for submission to Congress, calling for a committee to investigate the whole question of removal. But the resolution was not presented, since it was too near the close of the session, and “Congress would be indisposed to take up new business”. However, the Western men had successfully forestalled appropriations; and while they did not push the Wells resolution, we are told that they had agreed to support it.³⁶ They remained content with their passive victory, no doubt for the reason that while they could muster sufficient strength to defeat appropriations, they could not carry a removal resolution.

The man who is probably responsible for launching the campaign which resulted in the calling of a convention at St. Louis is none other than Joseph Medill of the *Chicago Tribune*, by an editorial on the subject in the issue of July 4, 1869. He pointed out that the center of population had reached Columbus, Ohio, and that the center of area was at Columbus, Nebraska, 120 miles west of Omaha; and seeing a good omen in this “singular coincidence of names”, he saw also that the center of pop-

³⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, April 4, 1869.

³⁵ Quoted by *Chicago Tribune*, August 6, 1869, from the *Cincinnati Gazette*.

³⁶ Letter from Washington, by “G”, dated July 31, 1869. — *Missouri Republican*, September 8, 1869.

ulation would rapidly approach the center of area. But, while that was true, it would never reach it, probably not go farther than St. Louis. The country west of the Mississippi River, he argued, could never sustain so dense a population, and consequently St. Louis would remain the center of population for all time. The logical location then for the new capital was somewhere between Cincinnati, Chicago, Memphis, and St. Louis; but since the center of population had already passed Cincinnati, Medill generously passed Chicago by and named St. Louis as the future seat of government.

The St. Louis people were at first greatly pleased, and flattered themselves on being so signally honored by their hated commercial rival, Chicago. Mr. Hyde, editor of the *Missouri Republican*, a few days later gracefully seconded Medill's suggestion, but urged the necessity of all agreeing upon a location, otherwise the whole movement must fail. And, in naming St. Louis, he thought that the city should donate the site, and then the buildings at Washington should be taken down stone by stone and rebuilt at St. Louis, thus "preserving them exactly"; it could all be done at "a moderate outlay". But all this would necessarily have to be done before any new buildings should be erected at Washington, and before the plan of erecting State residences there, which was being agitated, could be carried out.²⁷

CALL FOR A CONVENTION

The St. Louis press permitted the *Chicago Tribune* to carry forward the agitation, and Mr. Medill took up the burden by setting up hypothetical objections and answering them.²⁸ He was aided, to be sure, by a few other newspapers, so that after two weeks from the time of his first suggestion he could say that the proposition

²⁷ *Missouri Republican*, July 7, 1869.

²⁸ *Chicago Tribune*, July 21, 1869.

had "met with very general and unquestioning assent"; that, the "unanimous reception with which our Capitoline migration is received is so intense as utterly to destroy the complacency with which we had hitherto regarded it". But, that the *Tribune* was either toying with the matter or was misguided seems evident from a number of press comments, as also from their lack of making comment.³⁹ The eastern papers which took notice of the proposition generally condemned it; while most of the western papers treated it in a semi-serious vein. The *New Orleans Commercial Bulletin*, the *Canton Press* (Missouri), and others jokingly named their own towns for the new location. Others, for example, the *Bloomington Pantagraph*, the *Illinois State Journal*, and the *Iowa State Register* (Des Moines) supported the proposition—the latter would "put Congressmen to work and move the capital to St. Louis".⁴⁰

There were notable instances of approval by prominent men other than editors and politicians. President J. B. Turner of Illinois College, Jacksonville, Illinois, came out with an article in the *Jacksonville Journal* for immediate removal, or, said he "we shall sink millions until we do remove it".⁴¹ President Richard Edwards of the Illinois State Normal School, Normal, Illinois, in a lengthy article published in the *Chicago Tribune*, urged removal and named Rock Island, "that anomalous tract of 900 acres of government land lying in the Mississippi", right in the pathway of the nation, as the logical site for the new capital. The government had just established

³⁹ *Chicago Tribune*, July 24, 1869.

⁴⁰ Before this the *Register* had said: "Personal inclinations would induce us to suggest that the available ten miles square might be found in Iowa, somewhere near the junction of the main branches of the Des Moines River". But even then the *Register* would join St. Louis to obtain the new "District of Columbia."—*The Iowa State Register* (Daily), February 19, 1868.

⁴¹ *Chicago Tribune*, July 24, 1869.

the arsenal on the island.⁴² Others approved this or that scheme, or suggested new ones. But William H. Seward in a speech at St. Paul criticized and ridiculed the idea, sarcastically naming Sitka, Alaska, as of course the ultimate capital of the nation. The chief spokesman for the eastern opposition was John W. Forney of the *Philadelphia Press*, a man interested in both politics and real estate at Washington.⁴³ He attacked Medill, the *Tribune*, Chicago, and the West in general for inaugurating the movement; and he especially charged Chicago with insincerity and selfishness. Her sinister motive in naming St. Louis as the new capital, was to put that enterprising commercial rival out of competition with Chicago. Before the end of the summer St. Louis herself came to believe this, and would feign have revoked the call for a convention. But the call had gone forth for the capital convention to be held at St. Louis, to inaugurate a removal campaign before the next session of Congress.

Here again Medill led out in furnishing the fundamental idea and plan—"though it is true, not until a little group of St. Louis gentlemen had decided upon a convention to secure the capital for St. Louis. It was necessary to obtain an expression of public opinion on the subject; but the question was how to get that opinion. Medill suggested a convention representative of the people of the central, southern, and western States. This convention was simply to decide on the question of re-

⁴² "The island of Rock Island lying opposite of the city of Davenport, Iowa, in the midst of the 'Father of Waters' is fast becoming a place of importance and general interest to the whole country and especially to the favored inhabitants of the great Northwest. . . . Rock Island is going to be made one of the most attractive spots in the United States, and when the capital of our country is removed to this beautiful valley of the Mississippi and Rock Island is made an object of her patronage and beauty, it will be well worth the attention of even our friends over the water."—*Bloomington Pantagraph*, July 17, 1869.

⁴³ *Chicago Tribune*, August 5, 1869.

⁴⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, August 5, 1869.

removal, and not to take up the matter of a location for the new capital — that was to be the business of a second representative assembly. First decide the question of removal, and then agree upon a location. This second convention should of course consider the claims of all the towns from Pittsburg to Salt Lake City, and from St. Paul to New Orleans; and the choice should be made upon the broad basis of national good, with no appeal from the decision of that representative body.

In the meantime St. Louis took the first steps toward calling a national convention. Her people had already played a leading part in the movement in Congress, through the press and in various individual enterprises. One of her citizens, L. U. Reavis, an authority on the subject, had written a book describing the wonderful Mississippi Valley and pressing its claims as the "heart of the continent"; another, Hon. Henry W. Blow, offered to donate five hundred acres of land as a site for the new capital, and also to erect temporary office buildings for the use of the government at a moderate rental.⁴⁵ Now on July 30th the leaders held an unannounced meeting and passed a resolution providing for removing the national capital to St. Louis — later it was changed to read "the Mississippi Valley". A committee was appointed to lay the matter before the State legislature, the county Board of Supervisors, the City Council, the Board of Trade, the Merchants' Exchange, and the citizens of St. Louis.⁴⁶ Three days later it was decided to issue a call for a national convention.⁴⁷ At this meeting on August 2nd G. A. Finkelnburg, Representative in Congress, gave the key-note address. The scheme included the passage of resolutions favoring removal at the above mentioned commercial conventions at Keokuk and Louisville, since

⁴⁵ *Chicago Tribune*, August 11, 1869.

⁴⁶ *Missouri Republican*, July 31, 1869.

⁴⁷ *Missouri Republican*, August 3, 1869.

favorable action by those conventions would go far toward making the proposed capital convention a success. They should work towards making the people think of Washington as a temporary place, merely; St. Louis would then come in as a competitor, and at the next presidential election put the question: "Shall the capital be removed to St. Louis"? Such a vote he declared would carry.

A campaign of agitation was decided upon, and seven days later, August 10th, a committee of five was appointed to draft a formal call for the National Capital Convention.⁴⁸ The committee consisted of Major L. R. Shryock, a commission merchant and President of the Board of Trade, as chairman and L. U. Reavis as secretary, with G. A. Finkelnburg, Captain Silas Bent, and Captain Barton Able as associates. On August 12th, this the National Capital Committee met, drafted the formal call, and fixed October 20th as the date for the convention.⁴⁹ The call was sent out to *all* the States. St. Louis thus, single-handed, took the initiative and assumed the responsibility.

The call provided for a convention, consisting of two delegates for each congressional district and four for the State at large, two from each Territory and the same for the District of Columbia.⁵⁰ The appointments were to be made by the Governors, and should they fail the people of a district should choose delegates. Special invitations⁵¹ were sent to prominent men — to President Grant and Vice-President Colfax; to Senators Richard Yates, Charles Sumner, George H. Pendleton and others; to Mr. Medill as a special mark of appreciation; and to John C. Breckinridge and John Forsythe, editor of the

⁴⁸ *Missouri Republican*, August 11, 1869.

⁴⁹ *Missouri Republican*, August 13, 1869.

⁵⁰ *Missouri Republican*, August 19, 1869.

⁵¹ *Chicago Tribune*, August 19, 1869.

Mobile Register, (for sending these two invitations the committee was censured). Horace Greeley, too, was not only invited, but it was said that he was slated for chairman of the convention,⁵² for he favored removal and it was desired to win the powerful support of his paper. The St. Louis committee was soon able to report that responses from the country "show a lively interest in the coming convention".⁵³

But what was the response to the call and what the feeling and public interest? In the first place there was general criticism of the method and source of the call. The *Tribune* ⁵⁴ characterized the call as hasty, and thereby exposing a good cause to many rebuffs. The movement should have been inaugurated by representatives of the public opinion of the entire Mississippi Valley and Pacific Coast, by members of Congress, governors, mayors, and prominent business men, and not by citizens of St. Louis, or any one city. This was looked upon by most editors and public men as a grievous error, though others accepted it without serious objections.⁵⁵ The question of the constitutionality of removal was raised by Judge Nathan Sargent, Commissioner of Customs, and both sides were exhaustively treated.⁵⁶

The response to the call was not prompt and for a time looked discouraging to the St. Louis people, but by the first of October several good delegations had been appointed. Governor John M. Palmer of Illinois was one of the first to respond by appointing on August 20th a large delegation of the first citizens.⁵⁷ Ex-Governor

⁵² *De Witt (Iowa) Observer*, October 20, 1869.

⁵³ *Chicago Tribune*, August 17, 1869.

⁵⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, August 19, 1869.

⁵⁵ The *Missouri Republican* for August 21, 1869, printed a list of press comments.

⁵⁶ *Bloomington Pantagraph*, August 25, 1869.

⁵⁷ *Illinois State Journal*, August 22, 1869.

Richard J. Oglesby headed the list,⁵⁵ with such men as Gustav Koerner, Judge John D. Caton, John A. Logan, Joseph Medill, Edward B. Harlan, Robert G. Ingersoll, Clark E. Carr, Hugh Fullerton, and others. Illinois's aggressiveness did much to influence the action of others. Governor Harvey of Kansas promised to accompany a full delegation; and Governor Saunders of Nebraska indicated that he would do likewise. The governors of Maine and Pennsylvania, doubting their authority, declined, though Governor Geary of Pennsylvania favored removal "after the public debt shall have been paid". Governor Hoffman of New York declined, for there was no demand for such action. Governor Baker of Indiana also declined for want of authority, though he was in favor of removal, but he thought that the people of the state should first express themselves on the subject.⁵⁶ He also made objections on the ground that there was not suf-

⁵⁵ Oglesby's letter of acceptance is as follows:

Decatur, Sept. 21st 1869.

Excelslency John M. Palmer

Dear Governor

Credentials as delegate from State at large to represent Illinois at the "National Capital Convention" to be held at St. Louis, Mo. on the 20th of Oct 1869 received yesterday; I thank you for this mark of confidence and respect. At present I cannot say whether or not I shall be able to attend the convention. I do favor a removal of the National Capital to the Valley of the Mississippi and am disposed to believe St. Louis would be the most suitable selection all things considered for its location should we fail to concentrate public opinion on one of the several eligible and most suitable and desirable places in this state; I am without instructions as to any votes I shall be required to cast in the deliberations of the convention, and shall await with pleasure the communication of any views you may have to express on this subject.

Very respectfully

Your obdt servant

R. J. Oglesby.

(For this copy of Ex-Governor Oglesby's letter to Governor Palmer, the writer is under obligations to Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society and the daughter of Governor Palmer.)

The credentials were issued August 30.

⁵⁶ *Chicago Tribune*, August 21, 1869, and September 4, 1869.

ficient authority back of the call.⁶⁰ Nothing reassuring came from the southern governors, though it was reported that several would attend, as well as prominent individuals from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama.

Governor Samuel Merrill of Iowa threw a bomb into the camp of the St. Louis committee by writing for specific information as to the reported invitation sent to John C. Breckinridge before he would issue credentials to Iowa delegates — intimating, it was said, that Iowa would have no part in removing the capital if it had to be done by such help.⁶¹ Governor Merrill was doubtless satisfied, for on September 30th he issued his credentials, sounding each delegate appointed later upon his willingness to accept. The *Chicago Tribune* thought Iowa's delegation "one of the strongest and ablest delegations ever sent to any convention, by any state for any purpose".⁶² They were, for the State at large, Ex-Governor Ralph P. Lowe, President G. F. Magoun of Iowa College, M. L. Fisher, and A. W. Hubbard; and among the district delegates were Augustus C. Dodge, James F. Wilson, Ex-Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood, General J. M. Tuttle, and General Grenville M. Dodge.⁶³

Three weeks before the convention assembled the local committee reported favorable action by nine State governors and several Territorial governors; also that in Indiana and Kentucky, where the governors had failed to act, the people in several districts were choosing delegates. Besides this encouragement, assurances came from certain prominent men of their intentions of being present — among these was Ex-President Andrew Johnson.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ *Chicago Tribune*, August 19, 1869.

⁶¹ *Chicago Tribune*, September 20 and 21, 1869.

⁶² *Chicago Tribune*, October 4, 1869.

⁶³ General Dodge told the writer, in February, 1909, that he did not attend the convention.

⁶⁴ *Missouri Republican*, September 24, 1869.

The National Capital Committee had held many meetings during all this time, raised funds to finance the enterprise, sent out literature, kept the machinery at work, secured reduced rates on all the railroads⁶⁵ but two — one refusing on the ground that “if granted every town in the country would be getting up capital conventions”. The committee had made elaborate preparation for the reception of visitors. Mr. Hyde of the *Republican*, who had come to view the call as unwise, now urged it to be the duty of all citizens to show their hospitality, and he expressed a belief that St. Louis would without doubt be chosen as the new capital.⁶⁶ St. Louis rested on her oars awaiting her destiny.

THE ST. LOUIS CONVENTION

The National Capital Convention met in the Mercantile Library Hall at St. Louis on the afternoon of October 20, 1869. The hall, we are assured, “presented an appearance eminently worthy of the occasion”, since it was adorned with flags and other patriotic decorations; besides, music was furnished by a brass band, and there was the eclat of a great convention. L. R. Shryock, the chairman of the local committee, called the meeting to order and delivered an address appropriate to the occasion, which gives us an idea of the greatness of the cause in the minds of the promoters. His audience “represented the intelligence of the country”, and they had “come to discuss one of the greatest questions that has fallen to our lot to consider”. The movement, too, was not local, of a party, clique, or any one city, but a spontaneous movement of the people. Then, the speaker regarded it as a good omen that they should meet on the same day and place where twenty years earlier a meeting was held which successfully inaugurated the Pacific Railway. The

⁶⁵ *Chicago Tribune*, September 25, 1869.

⁶⁶ *Missouri Republican*, October 19, 1869.

Mayor, Hon. Nathan Cole, welcomed the delegates, and the convention effected a temporary organization with Judge Lowe of Iowa as chairman. Committees on credentials and permanent organization were appointed, and then the convention gave itself up to speech-making.

The committee on credentials found a number of irregular delegates, but reported twelve States and four Territories present with a total of eighty representatives. This number was later increased to eighty-five; and at the close of the convention it was reported that twenty-one States and Territories were represented. Illinois with twenty-five representatives had the largest delegation; next came Iowa and Missouri with sixteen each. Oregon had six, Nebraska five, Indiana and Kansas four each; while Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, and later Nevada and Texas, had from one to three, and the Territories of Alaska, Montana, Colorado, Utah, and New Mexico were represented. There was evident disappointment in the fact that many of the prominent men especially invited, were conspicuous by their absence. Horace Greeley, Ex-Governor Oglesby, John A. Logan, and others did not come; while Breckinridge and Forsythe, to the relief of many, did not appear.

Judge John D. Caton of Illinois was made the permanent chairman, and there was a vice-president from each State and Territory, and five secretaries. Caton in his very short address urged that there was no reason why the seat of government should not change its location, with the changes in wealth and population, in this moving westward. Some business was transacted at both the afternoon and evening sessions. Joseph Medill was made chairman of the committee on resolutions, which was assigned the duty of drafting a formal series of arguments. The chief interest of the evening session centered in the speeches made by some of the representa-

tive men: Garrett Davis of Kentucky, Governor Gilpin of Colorado, Hon. John Hogan of Missouri, Marshall Turley of Council Bluffs, Iowa, and Col. Clark E. Carr of Galesburg, Illinois. Some of the speeches bordered on the ridiculous; but of course they furnished excellent entertainment. In the main, however, the speeches were serious and the men were in earnest. Davis was there as an opponent of the movement and called it untimely and uncalled for; his was a cold reception. To Clark E. Carr, probably the youngest man in the convention, belongs the honor of making the sanest and strongest presentation of the whole issue.⁶⁷ He was of course for removal; but he was not a fanatic. His work was prominent throughout the sessions.

The real work of the convention came on the second day, in the adoption of the report of the committee on resolutions, which presented a series of eight articles.⁶⁸ The debate which followed occasioned some warmth of argument, though it was entirely on the mere wording, and not on the essential provisions of the resolutions. This resulted in toning them down and sluffing off their harshness, so that they were comparatively mild and temperate in their statement of the case. For instance, the sentence "we have suffered for three-quarters of a century, the evils of an unpopular location", was objected to, as was also the phrase, "obscure location", as a criticism of and reflection on George Washington. Both were modified in harmony with the criticism. It was Col. Stewart of Mobile who raised these objections and it was he, also, who, regarding the provision for selecting the site for the new capital, objected to "pledging ourselves to the location to be made by Congress"; and so by amendment this was made to read, "in the confidence and belief that Congress will suitably locate the same".

⁶⁷ *Missouri Republican*, October 21, 1869.

⁶⁸ *Missouri Democrat*, October 22, 1869.

The first five articles of the resolutions deal with the history of locating the government at Washington, D. C., and the familiar arguments for removal. In the last three they deny any sectional animus in their purpose and ask for the appointment of a congressional committee to select the site for the new capital; then, for fear that their plea might after all be taken as a joke, they declare that they are in earnest in their plan to re-locate the capital, moving it "from an out-of-the-way place and an exposed location in the far East, to one of convenience and safety", and that there is to be no cessation of their efforts. Finally, they wish emphatically to put themselves on record as condemning any and all expenditures for further improvements in Washington City; for, since "removal is only a question of time" it would be a wanton waste of the people's money. All this sounds rather queer to-day; but those men, under the then existing circumstances, made out a pretty clever case and resolved, as one delegate put it, "to *agitate*, AGITATE, AGITATE!" till success should crown their work. After the resolutions had been agreed upon, another incident shows the temperate character of the men. Congressman Sidney Clarke of Kansas made a motion that they "request all congressional nominating conventions to incorporate into their platforms a demand for the removal of the National Capital to a more central and convenient locality". This motion was sharply opposed and quickly tabled. They would not open the party platforms to the issue; it must be kept non-partisan.

But something yet more definite was needful, namely, the agency which should carry out the campaign of agitation; and so on motion of Clark E. Carr it was decided to create a permanent "Executive Committee". It was to consist of one member from each State represented in the convention, and its business should be to send out the resolutions, publish "an address" to the people, and at

its discretion to call another "national convention". An attempt to make this a committee of five resident in St. Louis was lost, as also another to make it a committee representing all the States in the Union — the latter was turned down at the suggestion of Carr, that such a committee would open the way for enemies to enter and defeat the very objects in view.

Entertainment of the visitors was well provided for, and near the close of the session a local committee appeared to invite the delegates to a carriage ride through the city, a grand banquet in the evening, and a river excursion the next morning. The committee assured the convention that they had provided many good things for them, including "a choice variety of wines and spirits", whereupon J. D. Pinkney of Illinois reminded the capital movers that one argument for getting away from Washington City was that "wine flowed too freely" there. However, the invitation was accepted, and after the formalities of adjournment the members took in the sights of the city. It required twenty carriages to haul the visitors, and after first inspecting the great vaults of the American Wine Co., they viewed the manufacturing district, the magnificent gardens of Mr. Henry Shaw, and many other attractions.

The banquet was a brilliant affair. Two hundred sat down to three one hundred-foot tables, loaded with the fat of the Mississippi Valley. The toasts were of course in keeping with the mission and spirit of the convention. The speakers were President Magoun of Iowa College, Hon. S. B. Churchill of Kentucky, John D. Caton and Clark E. Carr of Illinois, and Gen. Rawlins of Missouri; and besides these, Joseph Medill and others responded to voluntary toasts. At the conclusion of each toast all voices mingled in a suitable national hymn in keeping with the sentiment of the toast. Imagine the climax of it all when Gen. Rollins gave his toast on "The Future

Capital" and all joined in "Home, Sweet Home". It was the midnight alarm that adjourned the banqueters.⁶⁹

The next morning, after a short session at the Southern Hotel by the remaining delegates, the convention adjourned sine die and then launched on the river excursion. Here the final speeches were made and mutual support pledged.⁷⁰

The large "National Executive Committee" held a meeting October 21st, and on motion a sub-committee of five was created within the larger one, which was to push the work begun. Judge Caton was made its president and L. U. Reavis its secretary. The other members were: Representative John Coburn of Indianapolis, Hon. Samuel B. Churchill of Frankfort, Kentucky, Col. Clark E. Carr of Illinois, and G. A. Mouer of Missouri. It was also planned that each member of the large committee should be the official head of his respective State committee to propagate the campaign.

THE QUESTION BEFORE THE PEOPLE

Now that the bid for the capital was definitely made and the movement launched upon the semblance, at least, of a national basis, how was it received and what was done to realize it? From the organs of public opinion it does not appear that there was any abiding interest. There is the merest mention of the meeting in the smaller papers throughout the Mississippi Valley, or there is no notice taken of it at all; and the same is true of most of the leading journals of the East. Yet a number of influential editors did express themselves — some in ridicule, some indifferently and some few enthusiastically. While on the whole, then, the movement had added little to commend itself, the leaders, however, confidently set

⁶⁹ *Missouri Republican*, October 22, 1869.

⁷⁰ *Missouri Republican*, October 23, 1869.

to work and the winter of 1869 and 1870 saw considerable activity.

Mr. Hyde of the *Missouri Republican*⁷¹ admitted that the affair was "not a great success numerically", but he laid the outcome to the *call* and not to the *cause*. However, he commended the resolutions and the singular discretion of the men, and predicted the accomplishment of the object in twenty-one years. The *Cincinnati Gazette* in a vein of ridicule said: "Let the West keep on speech-making . . . they will fetch things".⁷² The editor of the *St. Joseph Herald* regarded it as the work of a few "notoriety seekers", who dragged good people into the movement, but predicted "forgetfulness" for the movement and a "just oblivion for the instigators". The *New Haven Register* thought the convention like Artemus Ward's military company — all officers. But the Chicago papers, the Detroit papers, and the *Cincinnati Enquirer* stood by the movement. Medill of the *Chicago Tribune* had his paper say that the convention was composed of sagacious and adroit men of both political parties, and that the movement was now fairly launched, "every day adding to the ranks of the supporters men of true conservative wisdom and influence". The *Post* of Detroit was attracted by the moderate business-like tone of the resolutions, and came out with a scheme for gradual removal of the capital by departments and offices — which suggestion received both approval and ridicule.

General W. T. Sherman's opinion⁷³ pleased the West — except St. Louis. He thought if the seat of government went west it would go to none of the large towns; but some place several hundred miles north of St. Louis on the Mississippi River would be chosen. Immediately many little towns, finding themselves in the pathway of

⁷¹ *Missouri Republican*, October 23, 1869.

⁷² *Missouri Republican*, October 26, 1869.

⁷³ *Dewitt (Iowa) Observer*, November 3, 1869.

favor, began bidding for the seat of government.⁷⁴ The *New York Herald*⁷⁵ also found favor in what General Sherman had to say, and assured the people of Washington that they could continue their ordinary business affairs, for Sherman had also declared that it would take one hundred years to get a removal motion through the House, one hundred years more to pass the Senate, and one hundred and one years to agree upon a location, and then it would be delayed fifty years in getting the necessary appropriations and erecting the buildings.

At intervals there was considerable agitation and while much of it was semi-serious, yet there were enough men in earnest on both sides to give the appearance of a real issue. In the West a movement launched to secure a World's Fair for the Mississippi Valley in 1871⁷⁶ was off-set in the East by taking steps to hold an international exposition at Washington — the precursor of the Centennial Exposition of 1876. All through these years the western papers significantly filled up space with the story of the capture and burning of the capitol in 1814 by the British.⁷⁷ To off-set this the eastern journals contained sketches of the life in Old Washington,⁷⁸ appealing to the sentiment and sacred memories of a glorious past. *Harper's* published an article on the "Site of Washington, D. C.",⁷⁹ giving a history of its establishment and describing its many attractions and plans for the future. This was probably inspired by an article in the same periodical from the pen of Horace Greeley, the "Friend of the West", on the resources of the Mississippi Valley, "the geographical heart of North America".⁸⁰

⁷⁴ *Dewitt (Iowa) Observer*, November 3, 1869.

⁷⁵ *New York Herald*, October 25, 1869.

⁷⁶ *Missouri Republican*.

⁷⁷ *Chicago Tribune*, August 23, 1869.

⁷⁸ *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. 89, p. 862.

⁷⁹ *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. 40, p. 181.

⁸⁰ *Dewitt (Iowa) Observer*, December 1, 1869.

The morals of Washington City were carefully scrutinized. Not only was there corruption in Congress, due to the close juxtaposition of the money power of the East, but the city was becoming demoralized, since a record of ten days showed two murders, nine burglaries, and a dozen incendiaries.⁸¹ Night assaults were common and even peaceful negro religious meetings were broken up, and no arrests made. The logic of all this was, of course, "a bad state of affairs for the seat of government"; such conditions would not exist if it were removed to the Mississippi Valley. Washington's streets, too, came in for severe criticism, and a movement was started to re-organize the District of Columbia, reducing it to a mere territory.⁸²

But there was not only an attack on Washington, D. C., but also quite a general capital removal craze raging in the western commonwealths. The Nebraska capital had just been removed from Omaha to Lincoln; and in Illinois, Springfield was threatened on account of the corrupt and corrupting local influences there, and by a strange irony a movement was started to take it to Peoria. Des Moines held the Iowa capital only by securing appropriations for a new structure — the present State Capitol. St. Louis tried to rob Jefferson City of the State Capital. Indeed it seemed as though the capitals of nearly all the western States were on wheels.

An effort to get appropriations for Washington, D. C., was renewed in Congress in the session of 1869-1870, and the St. Louis capital movers became alarmed lest it should carry before the States could act on the resolutions of the recent convention. The cause of the West depended upon the postponement of the appropriations for new buildings at Washington. The St. Louis leaders had held

⁸¹ *Missouri Republican*, December 3, 1869.

⁸² Washington Correspondent in the *Missouri Republican*, January 21, 1870.

several meetings⁸³ to consider the matter when, on January 13, 1870, they declared that St. Louis should have more backing in the fight, and a "Committee of Correspondence"⁸⁴ was organized according to the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the chair, whose duty it shall be to address the Governors of the States of the Union, and request them to recommend to the Legislatures of the several States, that they pass joint resolutions memorializing Congress — instructing the Senators and Representatives to expend no more money for new public buildings or additions to old ones in Washington City, and that the committee also prepare a memorial circular embracing all the statistical information that can be obtained on the subject, in favor of the removal of the national capital, and send said circular to the presiding officers of each House of the Legislatures of the several States of the Union, with the request that those bodies memorialize Congress as before stated.

The committee appointed was headed by Captain Silas Bent, the North Pole explorer, with the indispensable Reavis as secretary, who prepared a pamphlet⁸⁵ in accordance with the resolution. It was sent to the States accompanied by personal letters urging immediate action through the legislatures upon the Representatives in Congress.

ACTION OF THE STATES

The "National Executive Committee" to whom was entrusted the issuing of an address to the people had already done its work and sent the "address", together with the resolutions adopted at the St. Louis convention, to the States for action. The "address" entitled, "To the People of the United States",⁸⁶ recited the facts about

⁸³ *Missouri Republican*, January 7, 1870.

⁸⁴ *Missouri Republican*, January 14, 1870.

⁸⁵ A copy of Reavis's pamphlet is in the possession of the Illinois State Historical Society Library at Springfield.

⁸⁶ *Missouri Republican*, October 23, 1869.

a national convention having been held, the adoption of resolutions, and the creation of a permanent executive committee. In the six articles of the "address" the committee reiterate the well-known facts of the establishment of the capital at Washington, the increase in territory, population, and wealth; they declare that the friends of the movement do not represent a locality but the mass of the people; and they appeal to the patriotic devotion of the people to republican institutions and the "pure purpose to preserve the Union as it is". All these circumstances demand the removal of the capital to the "heart of the country".

The State legislatures did not convene until some time after the "address" was sent out, and so it was in the hands of the governors at the convening of the assemblies; but only two governors referred to the question in their messages. Reavis's pamphlet and the resolutions accompanying it, reaching the legislatures just at the time of their assembling, must have had an influence in hastening favorable action. No general notice, however, was taken by the newspapers of this recent effort of the St. Louis men, although the editor of the *Fort Scott Monitor* appealed to the western and southwestern States, urging them to "join the St. Louis Memorializers".⁸⁷

Missouri, as might be expected, was the first State to act, the legislature having had the matter before it as early as February, 1869, in the form of a bill to establish a new Federal district within the limits of Missouri.⁸⁸ But now, although Governor McClurg omitted mention of the matter in his message of January 6, 1870, yet four days later a joint resolution was introduced in the House and passed by the overwhelming vote of one

⁸⁷ Quoted by the *Missouri Republican*, January 25, 1870.

⁸⁸ *Missouri House Journal*, February, 1869.

hundred and twelve to one.⁸⁹ On reaching the Senate it was referred to the Committee on Federal Relations;⁹⁰ and on the seventeenth when it was reported out it was rushed through over an attempt to amend it slightly, passing with but three dissenting votes.⁹¹

Just before this triumph for removal a resolution was offered in the Senate proposing to donate a tract of land for the national capital, but it was not acted upon. Similarly in the House a concurrent resolution was introduced to the effect that the State tender to Congress the exclusive jurisdiction over territory, not exceeding six miles square, for the location of the national capital, but providing that it was not to be in an incorporated city — thus hitting St. Louis.⁹² Representative Hayes, though in favor of removal, opposed “making his State appear ridiculous to out-siders” and moved the rejection of the resolution. The vote to reject was decisively carried.

Kansas was from the first very aggressive in the movement. As early as August 24, 1869, when the Leavenworth Board of Trade chose delegates to the Keokuk Commercial Convention, they were instructed to urge the claims of the Fort Leavenworth Indian Reservation as the site of the new national capital.⁹³ Then in the legislature the men of the sun-flower State took the resolutions of the St. Louis Convention quite seriously and set actively to the task of securing the seat of government for the Mississippi Valley. Governor Harvey alluded to the subject in his message to the legislature on January 11, 1870, referring to Kansas as “the highway of the continent, Leavenworth City as the commercial emporium of

⁸⁹ *Missouri Republican*, January 11, 1870.

⁹⁰ *Missouri Republican*, January 13, 1870.

⁹¹ *Missouri Republican*, January 18, 1870.

⁹² *Missouri Republican*, January 11, 1870.

⁹³ *Chicago Tribune*, August 25, 1869.

the Mississippi Valley and Fort Leavenworth as the future capital of the United States".⁶⁴

A concurrent resolution was forthwith offered in the Senate by Mr. Woodward, and on January 14th was adopted by a vote of twenty to one — not, however, till after striking out the clause locating the capital in Kansas.⁶⁵ On the same day Mr. Haldeman introduced a concurrent resolution in the House which provided for the removal of the capital from Washington, D. C., and located it on the Fort Leavenworth Military Reservation, and on January 17th this resolution was adopted as an amendment to the Senate's concurrent resolution. Then on January 19th Mr. Cobb in the Senate proposed to accept the House resolution and refer it to the Committee on Judiciary with instructions to report a joint resolution, proposing to cede to the United States the county of Wyandotte for a Federal district, "in accordance with the recommendation of the official paper of the State". But this proposition was rejected and the original Senate resolution as amended by the House was carried by a vote of twenty to nothing.⁶⁶ Thus the Senate after all decided to locate the capital in Kansas. This carried with it a tract of two hundred acres of land which "Uncle Sam" was to have "without money and without price", should he "bring his capital out west";⁶⁷ and it also carried with it that no more appropriations should be made for buildings in Washington.⁶⁸

But Iowa would be behind none in her official activity. On January 14th Judge Lowe, in behalf of the Iowa delegation at the St. Louis convention, submitted the resolutions there adopted, accompanying them with

⁶⁴ *Senate Journal*, 1870, p. 28; *House Journal*, 1870, p. 61.

⁶⁵ *Senate Journal*, 1870, pp. 47, 48.

⁶⁶ *Senate Journal*, 1870, pp. 93, 94.

⁶⁷ *The Iowa State Register (Weekly)*, January 19, 1870.

⁶⁸ *Missouri Republican*, January 15, 1870.

a formal report⁹⁹ in which he asserted that there was no dissenting voice at St. Louis, that nearly all the States of the "south and southwest were represented", and that the action was "wonderfully unanimous" which promised a speedy consummation of the measure. He added, significantly, that the delegates went as far as they lawfully could, and that they "now covet the more authoritative expression of the General Assembly of the State".

Governor Merrill considered the subject in a special message¹⁰⁰ to the legislature on the last day of January. But before this, on January 18th, John W. Traer offered the removal resolution in the House.¹⁰¹ It went to the Committee on Federal Relations, of which John A. Kasson was chairman, who on February 5th reported it back to the House with the recommendation that the clause against further appropriations be amended to read, "except so far as the same may be absolutely necessary".¹⁰² This was accepted and the resolution passed both houses with large majorities.

In Iowa the issue was not allowed to rest alone in this legislative action, but the question in the form of a special resolution came up in at least two political conventions during the following summer. At the Republican congressional convention of the Second District, convened at De Witt on June 29, 1870, Robert Lowry of Davenport, State Senator for Scott County, offered the capital resolution¹⁰³ which was unanimously adopted.

⁹⁹ *The Iowa State Register* (Weekly), February 16, 1870.

¹⁰⁰ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. III, p. 418.

¹⁰¹ *House Journal*, 1870, p. 87.

¹⁰² *House Journal*, 1870, p. 1888.

¹⁰³ Resolved, That Hon. William Smyth, the Republican candidate for Congress in the Second Congressional District, is hereby requested and instructed to vote for and use all his influence in favor of the removal of the National Capital from Washington City to the Mississippi Valley; and is also requested and instructed not to vote one dollar for the erection

Likewise, at the Republican State Convention held at Des Moines on August 17th Mr. Lowry submitted the resolution ¹⁰⁴ and it was adopted without a dissenting vote. It would seem, then, that in Iowa the Republican party was in favor of removal.¹⁰⁵

While St. Louis was the center of the radical, if not fanatical, propagandist activity and the State of Missouri acted promptly and almost unanimously, yet it was probably for Illinois to play the leading role in various ways to bring about the removal of the capital. It was not only in the legislature but in Congress, under the leadership of Logan, that Illinois sought to effect the object; besides this, the people took action in the State Constitutional Convention of 1870, and, in several local sections official action was taken to secure the capital — by petitions and by offering tracts of land for the use of the Federal government.

On December 18, 1869, the Board of Supervisors of Whiteside County, in session at Sterling, Illinois, put themselves on record as favoring removal and passed a resolution proposing to cede Whiteside County, provided

of any new buildings or the purchase of any additional grounds at Washington City.—*Dewitt (Iowa) Observer*, July 6, 1870.

Mr. Smyth died eleven days before election and a convention was at once convened to nominate a candidate — one for the regular term and one for the short term vacancy. It does not appear, however, that the convention by a renewal of the resolution obligated either of them:

¹⁰⁴ Resolved, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress, are hereby requested and instructed to vote for and use all their influence in favor of the removal of the National Capital from Washington to the Mississippi Valley, and they are requested and instructed not to vote one dollar for the erection of any new buildings, nor the purchase of any additional grounds at Washington City.—*The Iowa State Register (Daily)*, August 18, 1870.

¹⁰⁵ One year before, in the Republican State Convention at Des Moines, June 10, 1869, George W. McCrary, Representative in Congress for the first district, secured an additional resolution to the platform, opposing the erection of public buildings "until the national debt is paid, or greatly reduced."

the Federal government would locate the capital there.¹⁰⁶ The resolutions were sent to John A. Logan, Congressman-at-large, and to H. C. Hubbard their district Representative in Congress. They were also sent to James McCoy, then a delegate at the State Constitutional Convention at Springfield, to present to that body for consideration. But already the "city council" of the town of Warsaw in Hancock County, bordering the Mississippi River had taken action.

The council met on December 15th to hear the report of a committee previously appointed to canvass the people of the four adjacent townships, as to their "willingness to invite the national capital to come to them". The report was favorable and a resolution¹⁰⁷ was adopted and sent to their representative in the Constitutional Convention. The Convention was petitioned to cede Warsaw and four designated townships to the United States for the national capital; and the matter was so important and so urgent that the council sent a telegram on ahead, reporting their action. And well they might, for there were other places, even in Hancock County, bidding for the capital. Just two days before the Board of Supervisors, sitting at Carthage, passed a resolution¹⁰⁸ to be submitted to the Constitutional Convention, asking that body to pass an ordinance, in turn to be submitted to a vote of the people of the State. The essential part of the resolution¹⁰⁹ was as follows:

Ceding to the United States of America, jurisdiction over fractional townships six and seven north, in range eight and

¹⁰⁶ *Debates of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Illinois*, Vol. I, pp. 179, 180.

¹⁰⁷ *Debates of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Illinois*, Vol. I, pp. 211, 212.

¹⁰⁸ *Debates of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Illinois*, Vol. I, p. 76.

¹⁰⁹ *Debates of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Illinois*, Vol. I, pp. 75, 76.

nine west of the principal meridian; and so much thereof as may be desired by the United States, upon the condition, that the national capital of the United States shall be removed from its present location at Washington, in the District of Columbia, to Nauvoo in the district to be ceded to the United States.

This was to be effective when Congress passed an act removing the capital to the district; and upon its further removal it was to revert to the State of Illinois. It would thus seem that some of the western people believed the Federal capital might be kept on wheels. But why should they desire this since the petitioners declared that "in the judgment of Hancock County, Nauvoo, in said county is the most central, healthful, and beautiful for the location of the national capital within the United States".

These resolutions among others were submitted to the Constitutional Convention and referred to the Committee on Federal Relations. On January 19, 1870, a resolution ¹¹⁰ was read proposing the authorization of the legislature to cede a district, not over one hundred square miles, for the national capital, should the Congress at any time desire to remove the same within the State of Illinois; but this was to be effective only upon actual removal.

On May 9th, the Committee on Federal Relations offered a series of resolutions for consideration on the floor of the convention. The first and second were upon Reconstruction issues, and the third on the capital removal. The capital resolution was taken up separately, debated, and finally agreed to; then the three were combined as a series and voted on as a whole. The separate vote on the resolution stood forty-two to thirteen in favor of it, with twenty-eight not voting, thus passing on the

¹¹⁰ *Debates of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Illinois*, Vol. I, p. 203.

basis of a majority vote by the narrow margin of one.¹¹¹ It is interesting to note that such men as Hon. O. H. Browning and George R. Wendling voted on the negative, as did also Mr. David Ellis, the Representative from the aggressive county of Hancock. This memorial was then sent to the Illinois Representatives in Congress.

The Illinois legislature did not assemble until January, 1871. A few days later (January 13th) the capital resolution was offered in the House by George W. Herdman, representing Jersey and Calhoun counties. The resolution simply asked for "the speedy location of the capital at or near the center of the Republic". Mr. Sheldon of Champaign County moved to refer the resolution to the Committee on Federal Relations, but it was quickly rejected, and Herdman's resolution was rushed through by a safe vote and sent to the Senate for concurrence.

The next day, upon the receipt of the House resolution in the Senate, Mr. Washburn offered a similar one, but included the clause against further appropriations for improvements at Washington.¹¹² It was referred to the Committee on Federal Relations,¹¹³ and later reported back, and with Washburn's amendment it passed both houses. Illinois went fully on record.

The Nebraska legislature did not convene until January 6, 1871; but here again the Governor, David Butler, failed to refer to the question of removal. Nevertheless, on the 24th Senator B. F. Hilton introduced the capital resolution. It merely urged the Senators and Representatives in Congress to use their power to remove the capital to the Mississippi Valley, and under suspension of rules was read twice the same day, though not without an amendment by George P. Tucker, substituting the

¹¹¹ *Debates of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Illinois*, Vol. II, p. 1764.

¹¹² *Senate Journal*, Vol. I, p. 83.

¹¹³ *Senate Journal*, Vol. I, p. 86.

word "Missouri" for "Mississippi";¹¹⁴ and with signal unanimity it passed on the next day without a dissenting vote.¹¹⁵ In the House¹¹⁶ likewise on the 24th a resolution was offered; but upon receiving the Senate resolution a discussion¹¹⁷ arose over the use of the words Mississippi and Missouri, occasioning some maneuvering and delay. Finally on March 6th the Senate resolution was adopted¹¹⁸ by a vote of thirty-five to two, with eleven not voting; and so Nebraska made a bid for the capital on the Missouri River, perchance within her own borders.

On January 27, 1871, in the Indiana legislature, Representative James M. Ruddell of Marion County, introduced a somewhat lengthy but able series of resolutions¹¹⁹ favoring removal and opposing appropriations. This was the very time when the final fight was on in Congress over the question and may account for the length and urgency of the Indiana resolutions. An attempt to lay the resolutions on the table was sharply defeated by a vote of fifty-eight to twenty-two, and February 3rd was set for their consideration. But Indiana made quick work of the business; for on the appointed day McDonald, who had moved to lay on the table, now moved the previous question and the resolutions were carried and sent to the Senate where they were at once concurred in.¹²⁰

In the Kentucky legislature, on January 24th of the same year, the usual resolves were presented in the House,¹²¹ but when they came to a vote on February 19th they were defeated by a big majority.¹²² Likewise in the

¹¹⁴ *Senate Journal*, 1871, p. 64.

¹¹⁵ *Senate Journal*, 1871, p. 80.

¹¹⁶ *House Journal*, 1871, p. 108.

¹¹⁷ *House Journal*, 1871, p. 146.

¹¹⁸ *House Journal*, 1871, p. 450.

¹¹⁹ *House Journal*, 1871, pp. 359, 360.

¹²⁰ *Senate Journal*, 1871, p. 549.

¹²¹ *House Journal*, 1871, pp. 348, 349.

¹²² *House Journal*, 1871, p. 602.

Senate, W. McKee Fox introduced similar resolutions, but by successive delays, caused by the opposition, they did not come to a vote till March 19th, and then it was a vote for indefinite postponement which was carried.¹²³

Attempts were made in a few other States to get favorable expression, but they were feeble and the supporters of the historic capital were stronger the farther these States were from the immediate sphere of influence of the "heart of the country". Neither the southern States nor the most northern States would indorse the scheme, and it seems that the movement was practically confined to those States which were in line of possibility for securing the coveted seat of government. They never secured the coöperation of the States not so situated; but instead, those States aided in the defeat of the project by voting appropriations in Congress for the up-building and beautifying of Washington, the Federal city on the Potomac.

THE ISSUE IN CONGRESS

It will be recalled that in Congress the question appeared in a two-fold form: (1) for removal, and (2) against appropriations for improvements in Washington. The fight, however, was intermittent, the interest was sectional, and the question had become neither a party nor an administration issue.

What President Grant's view was no one knew, for he had not committed himself on the removal question, nor had he taken a decided and open stand for improvements at Washington, his messages to the Forty-first Congress thus far containing nothing on the subject. His passivity, however, was regarded as against the removal scheme of his own section, the West; for, while the President was a western man, he was in the hands of eastern managers, his will being absolutely at the disposal of his

¹²³ *Senate Journal*, 1871, pp. 775, 783.

party friends. It was not until January, 1870, during the second session of the Forty-first Congress, that he revealed his position and policy, and then only to a few official friends. Delegations of Washington residents and easterners waited upon the President, during this session, urging him to act in favor of appropriations. Finally the mayor and register of deeds in conference with Grant drew from him assurances of quiet support. It was his desire that the capital of the United States should rank with the best in the world; and he promised them that he would by private letter recommend the making of ample provisions for improvements, with an eye to the beautiful as well as the practical. But he had no intention of pressing appropriations at that time, and "since the Western members are especially tenacious on the subject, the plea for improvements would be disregarded".¹²⁴ He believed, however, that "time and more information would soften the asperities of the removal scheme" and then they could make the needed improvements.

Early in January, 1870, steps were taken in the House, under the leadership of the intrepid Logan, to organize the capital removal forces. At a special meeting¹²⁵ of the known friends of the cause a congressional committee was chosen with Logan as chairman and Sempronius H. Boyd for secretary. The committee set to work and ere long had seventy-four members pledged to vote for removal, though their main work was still to block appropriations, for which several bills and embryo amendments were already "in soak" in committee. The Committee on Ways and Means reported the general appropriation bill on January 24th, to which was later added a Senate amendment calling for \$250,000 for an addition to the capitol grounds, and later still one of

¹²⁴ Washington correspondent to *Missouri Republican*, January 25, 1870.

¹²⁵ *Missouri Republican*, January 27, 1870.

\$500,000 for a new building. There were also several minor bills offered for special objects, three of which passed during the session. But before any of these were even introduced, the capital removal question came up in the House for debate.

On January 22nd, Speaker Blaine announced that the House would go into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, for debate only, and Representative Geo. W. McCrary of Iowa took the chair. The questions discussed covered the subjects of finance, bonds, tariff, expenditures, and capital removal. The last named subject came first, being introduced by Rev. Jesse H. Moore of Illinois, Representative from the Seventh (Decatur) District. The clergyman law-maker gave an eloquent address on the claims of the West for the national capital: it was the "people's movement", the interest was "widespread", and now was the time to act, since the question of new buildings was before the country. If Washington City was to be the permanent seat of government it should be known at once, and if not it was manifestly "not wise to spend the people's money on works that are soon to be torn down or abandoned." Reviewing the history of the nation's capital, he showed that the tendency was westward; and after enlarging upon the material growth of the West and analyzing the points of sentiment and secession, he passionately disclaimed any sectional animus in the matter, whatsoever.¹²⁶

But the great speech was made by John A. Logan, who, on taking the floor, called upon the clerk to read from the *Washington Chronicle* an account of a meeting of prominent Washington citizens, at which was considered the question of holding an International Industrial Exposition in Washington, D. C., the following year. Resolutions passed by the conference called for a committee of twenty to lay the matter before Congress, asking for

¹²⁶ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 671-674.

an appropriation. It was certainly proper for these men to consider the "boosting" of their own town, but at this conference a speaker, Mr. Kilbourn, took occasion to criticise Congress and in particular the western members for not improving Washington City and especially for ignoring her educational needs. One sentence of this speech, Logan now took as his text, namely: "The citizens' grievances are greater than our Fathers' in throwing over the tea." He proposed to come to the relief of Washington people and at the proper time move the appointment of a committee "to discover if possible, whether it is constitutional, practicable and expedient to move the capital of the United States from Washington", and then in a speech twenty columns long¹²⁷ he argued his proposition. Just before the Committee of the Whole arose Cadwallader C. Washburn of Wisconsin opposed the proposition advocated by the Illinois men, summarizing the chief points in favor of Washington as follows: (1) the sacred patriotic ties; (2) location and climate; and (3) cost of removal and the attendant destruction of private property. These points seemed to carry more weight than all the eloquence by which the House had just been entertained.¹²⁸

The general legislative appropriation bill (H. R. 974) was introduced on January 24th by Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts, chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. It fixed the appropriations for the year ending June 30, 1871, and was passed by the House a month later.¹²⁹ The bill contained few items for material improvement at Washington, but upon going to the Senate,

¹²⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 679-685.

¹²⁸ See the *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, Appendix, Part III, p. 102, for a speech by James A. Johnson of California—a burlesque capital removal speech in which he facetiously names the Pacific Coast as the proper location for the seat of government.

¹²⁹ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, p. 1570.

Justin S. Morrill's resolution (H. R. 530) ¹⁸⁰ was tacked on as an amendment.¹⁸¹ This was the provision for a \$250,000 appropriation for the extension of the capitol grounds, above alluded to.

On May 27th when the amendment was up for consideration in the Senate,¹⁸² Mr. Harlan of Iowa called for the reading of the resolutions of the Iowa legislature, approved by Governor Merrill on February 25th and sent to the Senators and Representatives of that State in Congress. Harlan then argued that no public necessity existed for such an expenditure as was contemplated in Morrill's amendment, since the sole consideration on which it was based was the general gratification of congressmen and visitors to the city of Washington. He conceded, however, that if Washington remained the seat of government, the grounds would increase in value, and thus it would be economical to buy additional grounds at once; but this was the only thing that could be said in favor of it, and he for one was not prepared to vote for the measure.

A general discussion followed under a time limit of five minutes to each speaker. Senator Richard Yates, the famous War Governor of Illinois, at once launched out, not against the amendment but directly on the subject of the removal of the capital, and predicted that not one Representative in Congress from the States of the Northwest would be returned unless pledged to vote for the removal of the capital to the Mississippi Valley. Mr. Yates's zeal for his cause was certainly greater than his knowledge of the political conditions and the conventions held in those States. Senator Lott M. Morrill of Maine would keep the capital in a loyal community, for the whole scheme was to remove it to St. Louis, the chief

¹⁸⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, p. 1205.

¹⁸¹ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, p. 2943.

¹⁸² *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, p. 3892.

city of a State which, had it not been for General Francis P. Blair, would have seceded. He could not trust St. Louis. He also brought Yates to his feet again by declaring that if the sole power were left to Harlan and Yates, neither one would remove the capital. Yates vehemently denied this and delivered a second speech ringing the well-known changes on the "Great Valley", the "heart of the continent", and the "future center" of one hundred States.

Thus the removal question as an indirect phase of the bill was brought into prominence. Still others spoke on that subject. Howard of Michigan regretted the agitation, for besides being detrimental to property interests in Washington, that place was hallowed by recollections and traditions too sacred to be treated lightly. Mr. Howard, however, voted against the Morrill amendment. Casserly of California opposed it on economic grounds. He had no faith in the movement of the Middle West; but as for beautifying Washington, there was no need of more ground for that purpose. John P. Stockton of New Jersey was overcome by the thought of the beautiful view of Washington from across the Potomac at Arlington and did not want to live to see the capital removed. Senator Morton, in jest, reminded his associates that Indianapolis had already practically been chosen; while Drake, Missouri's retiring Senator, and not in good standing with the returning democracy of that State, admitted that Missouri was a candidate for capital honors, but he regarded Washington as superior to any place in the whole Mississippi Valley. There was more said on the question of removal than on the primary provision of the amendment, and so the vote on the amendment may be regarded as a fair expression of sentiment, in the Senate, on the removal issue, showing an overwhelming majority against it. The vote was forty-two to ten ¹³³ in favor of

¹³³ The 10 negative votes were cast by Ames, Casserly, Hamilton,

the amendment, with twenty not voting or absent. It must be said, also, that not all those who voted in the negative would have supported capital removal. On the other hand, it is no doubt true that some who voted for the amendment did so in order to place an effective veto upon the removal agitation constantly threatening them.

But long before this debate in the Senate there was a bill ¹⁸⁴ introduced in the House (April 2nd) by Clarkson N. Potter of New York providing also for the extension of the capitol grounds. It was referred to the Committee on Public Grounds, but never reported out. It was now, by the Senate amendment, that the House was for the first time brought face to face with the issue. These amendments included, however, not only the small amount for an extension of the capitol grounds, but by securing that amendment as an entering wedge the appropriation bill was passed and sent to the House with still another amendment, section eight ¹⁸⁵ of which called for an appropriation of \$500,000 for the erection of a State, War, and Navy Building. This was sent to the Committee on Appropriations which finally, on June 11th, reported non-concurrence in the amendment. Then in order to get an expression from the House, and put the vote on record, Farnsworth of Illinois, an ardent friend of removal, called for the yeas and nays. The vote ¹⁸⁶ stood: yeas, 25; nays, 127; not voting, 79.

Harlan, Harris, Howell, McCreery, Platt, Ross, and Yates. — *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, p. 4470.

¹⁸⁴ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, p. 2377.

¹⁸⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, p. 4355.

¹⁸⁶ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, p. 4356.

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VOTE IN THE HOUSE ON SENATE AMENDMENT FOR \$500,000 APPROPRIATION FOR A STATE BUILDING. JUNE 11, 1870

	Yea	Nay	Not Voting		Yea	Nay	Net V't'g
Alabama		5		Missouri		7	2
Arkansas		2	1	Nebraska		1	
California		2	1	Nevada	1		
Connecticut			4	New Hampshire		2	1
Delaware			1	New Jersey		1	4
Florida		1		New York	4	16	10
Georgia ¹⁸⁷				North Carolina	2	2	2
Illinois		14		Ohio	2	12	5
Indiana		7	4	Oregon		1	
Iowa		5	1	Pennsylvania	4	9	12
Kansas		1		Rhode Island		1	1
Kentucky		6	3	South Carolina			3
Louisiana		1	2	Tennessee	3	4	1
Maine		1	3	Texas		2	2
Maryland	2	1	3	Vermont	2		1
Massachusetts	1	4	5	Virginia	1	4	3
Michigan	2	4	2	West Virginia		3	
Minnesota	1	1		Wisconsin		3	2
Mississippi		4	1				

An examination of this vote will show that the main opposition to the appropriation came from the Middle West. The Representatives of seven States — Illinois, Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon, Alabama, and West Virginia—voted solidly in the negative, while a large number gave the negative a majority of the votes with one or more in the column of “not voting”. These were Iowa, Wisconsin, Kentucky, Texas, Arkansas, California, Mississippi, Missouri, Indiana and two eastern States, New Jersey, and New Hampshire. Only the Representatives from South Carolina, Delaware, and Connecticut refused to vote at all; while the important States of New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Ohio, as well as some smaller ones divided their votes among the three columns. It will be

¹⁸⁷ Georgia was not represented in Congress.

seen, however, that both New York and Ohio gave a majority of votes to the negative, which is not the case with Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. Of the twelve States casting the twenty-five votes for the appropriation, there were only four — Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota, and Tennessee — situated in or near the removal center; and no State — except Nevada with one Representative — cast a solid vote for the appropriations. Again, while it is probably true that in this section the opposition figured on the basis of ultimate capital removal, yet the chief reason was the opposition to the increasing extravagance and attendant corruption in public expenditures. That certainly accounts for the vote in the East. In New England there were but three votes for the measure, one being that of General Nathaniel P. Banks. New York gave but four votes, those of Clarkson N. Potter, Noah Davis, Stephen Sanford, and Fernando Wood. Some of the more prominent westerners supporting the amendment were Garfield, Wilson of Minnesota, Stoughton and Strickland of Michigan; while some of the leading men from the East voted against it, namely, George F. Hoar, Wm. B. Washburn, Wm. A. Wheeler, and Samuel J. Randall. Among the leaders who refused to go on record were: John A. Brigham of Ohio, Horace Maynard of Tennessee, Cadwallader C. Washburn of Wisconsin, Sempronius H. Boyd of Missouri, and Dan Voorhees and Geo. W. Julien of Indiana. In looking over these names one thing is evident: it was not a political party issue.

After the big amendment was voted down, the same plan of putting the Morrill amendment to the test was carried out, the vote resulting about the same — yeas thirty, nays one hundred and twenty-two, not voting seventy-eight. There was little change too in the personnel of the vote.¹³⁸ Garfield refrained from voting, as did

¹³⁸ See *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, p. 4356.

also several others — Moore of Illinois, Fitch of Nevada, and Palmer of Iowa, who before voted either for or against the amendment.

Although the two large items and some smaller amendments were cut out, yet the general appropriation bill of 1870 carried with it about \$200,000 for improvements at Washington, one item alone being \$100,000 for finishing and repairing one of the wings of the Capitol. Among other items were: \$20,000 for grading, \$10,000 for a ventilating system, \$4,000 for finishing and repairing the new dome, \$10,000 on the interior of the President's Mansion, with a like amount for an iron fence around the grounds. Among small items was \$200 for vases for the Capitol.

The whole bill was debated at length, and with the numerous amendments was on June 27th sent into conference with Dawes and Logan acting for the House and the two Morrills for the Senate. The committee soon reported, the Senate at once concurring, but the House held off till July 9th,¹³⁹ when the bill passed and was sent to the President who approved it on July 15th.¹⁴⁰

The capital movers, while they blocked the large appropriations, were defeated in the smaller ones and the policy of improving Washington was really carried; but before adjournment they took another aggressive step toward removal.

On June 15th, while the appropriation bill was still under discussion in the House, Representative John M. Crebs of Illinois submitted the capital resolution passed six days before by the Illinois Constitutional Convention, copies of which had just been received by the fourteen Illinois Representatives.¹⁴¹ At the same time the follow-

¹³⁹ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, p. 5427.

¹⁴⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, Appendix, p. 716.

¹⁴¹ *Missouri Republican*, June 18, 1870.

ing resolution was offered by Mr. Crebs and was sent to the Committee on Public Expenditures:

Resolved, That the Committee on Public Expenditures be directed to inquire into the expediency of reporting a bill for the capital removal, and appointing a joint committee of five members from the House and two from the Senate to select a site for its future location, and that they have the right to report at any time.¹⁴²

Thus while Congress adjourned with a decided encouragement to the opponents of removal, the advocates of the cause were determined to continue the agitation and further organize the movement. The Congressional organization was not to be left unsupported, for already the National Executive Committee, through its secretary, had well under way the plans for a second national capital convention.

THE CINCINNATI CAPITAL REMOVAL CONVENTION

During the winter and spring months of 1870 the indefatigable Mr. Reavis, as secretary of the "National Executive Capital Committee" made a trip into the East to arouse, if possible, an interest in the removal project. On February 22nd he was in Cincinnati¹⁴³ to arrange for a second capital convention, which the persistent St. Louis clique had determined upon. In May he was in New York City. A New York press correspondent says: "Reavis, the capital mover, is here urging a removal of the capital from Washington, D. C.", and states that he has called a national capital convention to convene at Cincinnati.¹⁴⁴ Soon after this Mr. Greeley, through his *Tribune*, urged the appointment of a committee to make

¹⁴² *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, p. 4470.

¹⁴³ A correspondent to the *Missouri Republican* for February 22, 1870, said: "A gentleman from St. Louis is in Cincinnati to make arrangements for holding a convention in this city in the interests of the movement for the removal of the capital of the United States to the West."

¹⁴⁴ *Missouri Republican*, May 17, 1870.

a thorough investigation of the matter of removal, and pointed out that such a course would be conducive to the national well-being; indeed, since the westward march is arrested by the Pacific, the Federal metropolis should be placed where it is to remain or located permanently where it now is.¹⁴⁵

On May 24, 1870, Mr. Reavis addressed a circular letter ¹⁴⁶ to all the States, requesting them to appoint delegates to a convention at Cincinnati to be held on October 25th, following. This convention was to take further and more definite steps toward the goal of removal. The basis of representation was similar to that of the St. Louis convention, except that there should be three from each congressional district and that in case any governor failed to make the appointments delegates should be chosen by the people in a State convention.¹⁴⁷ The convention was thus planned upon a large scale and the date set far ahead to give ample opportunity for preparation and the hoped-for interest and coöperation. But there was little work accomplished outside of St. Louis, where the agitators were active.

Several meetings were held in St. Louis during the summer to generate enthusiasm and to secure funds for the capital campaign. A meeting was announced for June 2nd, at which it was expected that Governor Palmer and other prominent visitors would speak; but the meeting was not held until a week later (June 8th) and the "good sized audience" assembled in Masonic Hall was disappointed, because the "eminent men expected" had failed to make their appearance.¹⁴⁸ But St. Louis possessed local talent in Reavis, B. R. Bonner, and others. Mr. Bonner, an authority on the growth of the West, read

¹⁴⁵ *Missouri Republican*, May 17, 1870.

¹⁴⁶ *Missouri Republican*, May 30, 1870.

¹⁴⁷ *Missouri Republican*, October 14, 1870.

¹⁴⁸ *Missouri Republican*, June 9, 1870.

a carefully prepared paper, which was enthusiastically received. Mr. Wm. Sherard Clemens of West Virginia, who was there, said some pleasing things about the climate of the Mississippi Valley. A finance committee was appointed, and the meeting adjourned. The campaign was now locally launched.

In July the secretary issued to the railroad lines and steamboat companies a request for reduced rates.¹⁴⁹ The local editors lent their aid to the cause, Mr. Hyde of the *Republican* urging the request on the ground that the proposed convention was of "great national concern" and that it was "likely to be the greatest one ever held in this country". Of course the convention would benefit the railroads, both in receipts from the great sale of tickets and in serving to advertise their wonderful improvements. Much was said about the rapid improvement in railroad travel. An editorial appeared on the "Luxuriousness of Modern Travel"¹⁵⁰ in which a new "sleeping coach" was described and an account given of its initial trip from St. Louis to Alton. The thirty men, chiefly railroad officials, who made the trip "enjoyed the entertainment amply provided for" by the fact that a "baggage car with refreshments" was attached. The trip was made to Alton and return on the afternoon of July 14th, and that evening the "sleeping coach" left on its first trip to New York. But while the West was thus praising its railroad facilities, quick time, through travel, comfortable "sleeping coaches", and the like, the eastern press sharply and with point reminded the West that this much boasted rapid improvement in facilities for comfort in travel lessened the need for the removal of the Federal capital to a territorially central location.

It was not until the middle of October, that Reavis could announce reduced rates for the delegates to the

¹⁴⁹ *Missouri Republican*, July 5, 1870.

¹⁵⁰ *Missouri Republican*, July 15, 1870.

Cincinnati convention. Thirteen roads and one packet company would make cut rates, and these were of course almost all western roads. The Pennsylvania Central would grant a two-cent fare; while two, the Illinois Central and the Chicago, Alton, and St. Louis, granted a fare and one-fifth — all others giving a half-fare rate, or one fare for the round trip.¹⁵¹

In the meantime St. Louis grasped every opportunity to keep itself in the public eye and advance the capital cause — the two were inseparably connected. This is well illustrated by two incidents. Early in October, Horace Greeley on one of his numerous western inspection tours, paid his respects to St. Louis;¹⁵² and naturally St. Louis wished to make *capital* out of this good fortune. Mr. Reavis, Captain Bart Able, and one or two others — leading capital movers — showed him the town, visiting the many attractions of the city and calling upon the famous bridge-builder, Captain Eads. They looked to Greeley and his *Tribune* to turn the tide of the conservative and “corrupt East” in favor of the removal scheme. They hoped to make so good an impression on him that his editorial columns would talk in their behalf. But their disappointment is seen in the comment made upon Mr. Greeley’s St. Louis letter, which appeared a few days later in the *Tribune*: “He compliments our city on the prospects, puffs our Fair and says nothing new that would interest our readers”. In other words Greeley failed to name St. Louis as the future seat of government.

Again, the opportunity came for St. Louis to bid for united support in the approaching capital convention. The cities on the eastern fringe of the Mississippi Valley were not favorably disposed towards the capital movement, and St. Louis seized every opportunity to court

¹⁵¹ *Missouri Republican*, October 14, 1870.

¹⁵² *Missouri Republican*, October 3, 1870.

their favor. Cincinnati was to entertain the next meeting of the Southern Commercial Convention — a year hence in September, 1871. Plans for this convention were discussed at an informal meeting of railroad and commercial men, held at Cincinnati in the Chamber of Commerce at the close of "change" on October 9, 1870. St. Louis had a representative there in the person of Captain Bart Able. Among the speakers on this occasion were General Banks and Mr. Wm. Garrett, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Garrett declared that as Cincinnati would welcome Baltimore next September, Baltimore he assured them "desired connection with the West", and so struck a responsive note when he proposed the change of the name Southern Commercial Convention to National Commercial Convention.¹⁵³ Captain Able in speaking for St. Louis endorsed the suggestion and declared that St. Louis joined with Cincinnati in the "development of the heart of the continent". He also praised Cincinnati's hospitality and mutual good will — just the thing lacking and for which St. Louis was playing on the eve of the convention. How she won out we shall see.

The "call" of the National Executive Committee was promptly responded to by Governors Harvey of Kansas,¹⁵⁴ Merrill of Iowa, and Palmer of Illinois. Governor Hoffman of New York also promptly responded, but decisively declined to have anything to do with the affair.¹⁵⁵ The majority of governors utterly ignored the call. As the time for the convention approached, however, the prospects for success seemed bright — to the promoters. On October 1st, Governor Harvey sent to Secretary Reavis a list of the names of the Kansas dele-

¹⁵³ *Missouri Republican*, October 10, 1870.

¹⁵⁴ *Missouri Republican*, May 31, 1870.

¹⁵⁵ *The Nation*, November 27, 1870.

gation ¹⁵⁶— nine in all. It was a strong delegation, composed of high state officials, editors of some of the leading papers, prominent attorneys, and eminent citizens — including Thomas Moonlight, Secretary of State, C. V. Eskridge, Lieutenant Governor, and John A. Martin, editor of the *Champion and Press*, Atchison, Kansas. Iowa came to the front again, as at St. Louis, with a strong array of talent; so that the somewhat lukewarm democratic editor of the *Missouri Republican* could say: "It is a very indication that the convention will be representative of the intelligence and wealth of the West".¹⁵⁷ Among these were Ex-Governor Lowe of Keokuk, Benj. F. Gue, editor of the *Iowa Northwest* at Fort Dodge, Charles Beardsley of the *Burlington Hawkeye*, Ex-Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood, President George F. Magoun of Grinnell, Major Hoyt Sherman of Des Moines, Hon. M. L. McPherson of Winterset, and others as prominent. The Illinois delegation, appointed on October 11th,¹⁵⁸ was second to none. There were forty-five in the list, some of whom had been prominent in the St. Louis convention, such as Judge John D. Caton, its president, E. B. Harlan of Springfield, Col. Clark E. Carr, S. R. Chittenden, and others. In addition to these there were General John McNulta of Bloomington, Norman B. Judd and C. B. Farwell of Chicago, E. L. Merritt of Springfield, and Congressman Wm. R. Morrison. Illinois claimed the "most creditable delegation of any state represented". Then, just on the eve of the assembling came the encouraging news that Governor Hayes of Ohio had appointed delegates which seemed to "put that great state on the affirmative side of the westward course of Empire", and thus Ohio "enrolls her people with the friends

¹⁵⁶ *Missouri Republican*, October 3, 1870.

¹⁵⁷ *Missouri Republican*, October 13, 1870.

¹⁵⁸ *Illinois State Journal*, October 26, 1870.

of capital removal''.¹⁵⁹ Editor Hyde now predicted success and insisted that Missouri should be well represented.

The convention opened at 12:30 P. M. on October 25th in Pike's Music Hall,¹⁶⁰ with a mere handful present. A temporary organization was effected and the convention adjourned till three o'clock for a fuller attendance. There were visible signs of disappointment, all agreeing that the convention would be "much smaller than the St. Louis convention a year ago"; but the "boosters" anchored their hopes in the arrival of others that night or the next morning,¹⁶¹ since "delegates had been generally appointed — North, South and West".¹⁶² Then too, the Indiana delegation, just appointed by Governor Baker, would soon arrive, it was reported. Baker, it will be recalled, had refused the year before on the ground that he had no constitutional authority to appoint delegates to such a convention.

That afternoon the convention re-assembled and effected a permanent organization with Col. G. N. Stewart of Alabama, a prominent railroad promoter of the Southwest and a leader in the capital movement, as the chairman. The committee on credentials reported sixty-two *bona fide* delegates present¹⁶³ from nine States. Ohio had twenty-three — none of them, however, from Cincinnati. Illinois stood next with seventeen, which was a third of the number appointed, and contained few really strong men. Missouri had five; Iowa, four out of twenty-four appointed; Kentucky, Nebraska, and Washington Territory had three each; Kansas two; and Texas and Alabama each one. It does not appear that Indiana's

¹⁵⁹ *Missouri Republican*, October 22, 1870.

¹⁶⁰ *Chicago Times*, October 26, 1870.

¹⁶¹ *Missouri Republican*, October 26, 1870.

¹⁶² *Missouri Republican*, October 25, 1870.

¹⁶³ *Missouri Republican*, October 26, 1870.

delegation was present; and some States with large delegations appointed had but few present — notably Iowa, Missouri, and Kansas.¹⁶⁴ The slump in the representation is unmistakable evidence of the utter lack of interest on the part of the great majority of the people; but the leaders persistently refused to concede the fact. There were other causes, however, as we shall see. The attendance, at any rate, was so unpromising as to cause the question of postponement to be raised. A motion by E. L. Merritt of Illinois was made to postpone to February 22, 1871, but he "withdrew it temporarily" on objection being made that it would look as though the movement itself had failed.¹⁶⁵

Letters from two representative eastern journalists were read on the first day, one from Mr. Greeley favorable to removal and the other from Mr. John W. Forney of the Washington (D. C.) *Chronicle*, who unrelentingly opposed the agitation of the matter. Secretary Reavis wrote to Mr. Greeley on October 15th, giving him a special invitation to be present; but five days later Greeley wrote that he could not leave New York at that time on account of the elections. In this letter,¹⁶⁶ which was read to the convention, he pledged his friendship for the cause of removal, saying that the subject for deliberation was of the "greatest consequence to the country" and needed "prompt consideration". Washington, D. C., he held, was certainly an unfortunate location, for the capital should be in a great city to insure an independent press where the acts of the government could be freely criticized and where the capital would be surrounded by a dense and spirited population for the defense of the

¹⁶⁴ The reports vary, however, Missouri being credited with 15 in the *Indianapolis Journal*, October 26, 1870, and with 22 in the *Chicago Times*, October 26, 1870.

¹⁶⁵ *Missouri Republican*, October 26, 1870.

¹⁶⁶ *Missouri Republican*, October 26, 1870. The letter is also quoted by many other papers.

archives and the treasures. It should also be a focus for art, literature, and refinement. He was furthermore certain that a change would be approved and demanded. But he went on and named New York City as that center and logical seat of government, which of course threw cold water upon the whole plan of the western capital movers. What the eccentric editor of the *Tribune* might then say and do for the cause was uncertain and of little force. Mr. Forney was an open enemy, and in his letter¹⁶⁷ declared that the movement was without a shadow of justice; it was intended for the special benefit of the West and wholly uncalled for by public sentiment. It was fraught with incalculable mischief since it disturbed the business interests of the city, these periodical capital discussions taking the place of the old pro-slavery agitations and stirring up as bitter passions. But the convention would not suffer an arraignment of their body and an indictment of their leaders, and so by consent the reading of the letter was stopped and the convention adjourned.

The real work of the convention took place on the second day in the adoption of the resolutions.¹⁶⁸ The committee on resolutions, consisting of Beardsley of Iowa, VanVoorhis of Ohio, Morrison of Illinois, and six others, reported a series of six resolutions, incorporating the stock points of emphasis, namely; central location, center of population, production and commerce, political justice, etc. They declare that the time has come in all justice to act; they re-affirm the resolutions of the St. Louis convention; oppose further appropriations for buildings at Washington; and provide for a committee of five to memorialize Congress on the subject.

On motion to adopt the report of the committee on resolutions, a substitute motion was offered by Mr. Beach

¹⁶⁷ *Missouri Republican*, October 26, 1870.

¹⁶⁸ *Missouri Republican*, October 27, 1870.

of Ohio, which provoked a lively and long debate. The substitute read:

Resolved, That the further agitation of the removal of the capital from Washington is mischievous, uncalled for, and detrimental to the best interests of the nation.

He would have the convention adjourn *sine die*. This was followed by hisses; men became excited; and motions to lay on the table and to refer to committee were made but again withdrawn, and the debate followed on the question of the adoption of the substitute. The mover of the substitute was not opposed to removal *per se*, but was against it at this time—it was only a matter of time, but that time was not yet ripe. The debate brought out many interesting facts and opinions. The Ohio and Kansas delegations were divided on the question, but there was little opposition in other delegations. Nebraska was solid for removal, Mr. Coggeswell declaring that his State if permitted would alone build a new capital without a dollar's expense to the Federal government. He would sell the old capital and pay the public debt, make the eastern rings stand back to give way to the prairies; and, so far as Nebraska was concerned, she would make it the issue at the congressional elections. This last threat was partially carried out and the capital movement in Nebraska continued for some years after. Mr. Moore of Ohio declared that ninety-nine out of every one hundred would vote for removal; while Mr. Beardsley declared that Iowa's position was in perfect accord with the movement. General Black of Illinois made a strong speech for removal, saying that though his State had no claim to the capital, the people were overwhelmingly for removal. The vote was finally taken and the substitute was defeated with but two affirmative votes.¹⁰⁹

At this juncture Mr. Williams of Ohio offered Cincinnati as "the most eligible and desirable location for

¹⁰⁹ *Missouri Republican*, October 27, 1870.

the national capital of the Union''; but upon objection being made to a consideration of that phase of the question he withdrew his motion. The convention then adopted the original report of the committee. On motion of Mr. Forshey of Texas a national executive committee of one from each State and Territory represented was appointed. Mr. Fishback of Illinois, after declaring that nine hundred and ninety-nine in every one thousand were for removal, offered a resolution endorsing the action of the House of Representatives in rejecting the bill appropriating money for the purchase of additional grounds and for the erection of additional public buildings at Washington, D. C. This resolution was enthusiastically adopted, and a committee headed by Joseph Medill was appointed to memorialize Congress on the subject.¹⁷⁰ The convention adjourned after a parting address by the presiding officer.¹⁷¹ Resolutions of thanks to the officers were passed, but no thanks were extended to the convention city. Cincinnati had ignored the convention, her citizens conspiring against it by agreeing to remain away — not a soul being present, it was said, from that city. After adjournment the executive committee organized for future work with E. B. Harlan of Illinois as president, L. U. Reavis as secretary, and Captain Silas Bent as treasurer.¹⁷²

That the convention was a failure was quite apparent; yet the "capital movers" were loath to concede it. Different reasons were offered for the "slimness of at-

¹⁷⁰ The committee was composed of Joseph Medill, Horace Greeley, ex-Governor J. W. Stephenson of Kentucky, L. U. Reavis, and W. M. Burwell of Louisiana.

¹⁷¹ Colonel Stewart declared his faith in the cause as follows: "Some may ridicule the cause but they cannot injure it . . . it will progress in spite of all . . . the capital will be moved to the valley of the Mississippi, where lie the intelligence and the power".—*Missouri Republican*, October 27, 1870.

¹⁷² *Missouri Republican*, October 27, 1870.

tendance"; one was the fact that "political contests in various States were exciting attention"; another, that a number of governors had not appointed delegates; and yet a third that, in Texas for example, the yellow fever epidemic kept some who were appointed from attending.¹⁷³ Cincinnati was sharply criticized for not patronizing the convention. Many delegates, incensed at Cincinnati's treatment of the convention, seriously considered adjourning the meeting and going to St. Louis or Chicago, thus teaching Cincinnati a lesson.¹⁷⁴ The Cincinnati papers made light of the convention and generally condemned the whole movement, the *Gazette* holding that an error was committed in making it sectional, but, while devoting a column to an argument against removal, wound up with a bid for the Cincinnati site should the removal project prove successful.¹⁷⁵ The *Times* treated the matter lightly, but hinted that Cincinnati's site was a good one; while the *Enquirer* sneered at the scheme, declaring that St. Louis might do the fighting, since the movement as conducted was a matter of exclusive self-interest with her. Mr. Forney came in for a large share of vituperation from a few of the western journals for his active opposition, Mr. Hyde dissecting his political bossism in a burlesque editorial.¹⁷⁶

That the movement was doomed was not so much because of the attack of Mr. Forney or that of any one man but because of the fact that, although many western people desired removal and seemed to think that it would some time as a matter of course come to pass, there never was a really general or widespread belief in the project. Some of the leading papers, East and West, merely made

¹⁷³ *Missouri Republican*, October 26, 1870.

¹⁷⁴ *Illinois State Journal*, October 26, 1870.

¹⁷⁵ *Cincinnati Gazette*, October 25, 1870.

¹⁷⁶ *Missouri Republican*, October 27, 1870.

mention of this last convention in the column of telegraphic news;¹⁷⁷ while the small local papers did not so much as note the fact.

Mr. Charles Beardsley of the *Burlington Hawkeye* and a delegate to the Cincinnati convention accounted for its failure in the inimical tone of the Cincinnati papers. He also thought that the elections in some of the States — Illinois, Missouri, and New York — made against it. But Mr. Beardsley was not in the least daunted; he urged continuous discussion and declared that the hope for the cause was bright, since young men were coming on who would see the fight through.¹⁷⁸

*The Nation*¹⁷⁹ called the movement preposterous, holding that it failed to obtain the appearance it sought because it was sectional, and confidently avowed that it never would succeed, pointing out two facts outweighing all else: (1) western men were glad for an opportunity to come East; and (2) facilities for travel were such that there was no longer an excuse for removal. More than this, Washington, D. C., was hardly surpassed in beauty; its climate was not so bad as made out by the West; and it was already attracting visitors. The whole country was called upon to make it the most beautiful city of the land.¹⁸⁰ We must now trace the course of the final effort to get favorable action in Congress.

¹⁷⁷ *New York Herald*, October 27, 1870.

¹⁷⁸ *Burlington Hawkeye*, October 28, 1870.

¹⁷⁹ *The Nation*, October 27, 1870.

¹⁸⁰ The following is a quite satisfactory explanation of the matter by Colonel Clark E. Carr, one of the then friends of removal. He says:

"The thing more than any other which militated against the movement of the capital was the reverence and devotion of the people to the Father of our country. Had the capital city borne any other name than Washington, I think that the seat of Government might have been removed to the Mississippi Valley. Of course the amount of money already expended upon public buildings had a great influence in keeping the capital where it was, but even that was less potential than the name of George Washington and the patriotic traditions that cluster around it.

"I think that the movement had a great influence in stimulating

FINAL ACTION IN CONGRESS: END OF THE MOVEMENT

The St. Louis men, eager as aforesaid and fearing that the cause might be compromised, determined now not to leave it to the increasingly uncertain results of congressional resolutions and committees, or even of a national convention; consequently, a "National Capital Removal Association" was organized to work in conjunction with, if indeed not to direct, the policy of the National Executive Committee just appointed at the Cincinnati convention. At a preliminary meeting held in St. Louis on November 16th a petition was drawn up and signed, calling upon the City Council to memorialize the State legislature to give, at this crisis, practical aid to the movement.¹⁸¹ The feeling that their cause in order to succeed had to be nationalized was unanimous; consequently they adjourned the meeting to November 21st for further consideration of the question. In the meantime they made a canvass for local support.

At the appointed time the leaders met, and Mr. Reavis stated the object of the meeting, which was to form a "capital removal league".¹⁸² A general discussion followed, and the meeting took the form of a conference of western men conspiring against the East for her alleged conspiracies against the West. Capt. Silas Bent sounded the key-note when he called attention to the discrimination shown by Congress, favorable to the East, in the matter of appropriations for harbor and river improvements, significantly declaring that *one object of this agitation to remove the capital was to correct the evils of legislation in that respect*. Then, on motion of Capt. Bent, the capital removal association was

. . . . enterprise in improving and beautifying Washington, until now, the city has become more beautiful than any other Capital in the world.

"I would not now favor a movement for a change in the location of the capital."—Letter to the writer, dated November 29, 1908.

¹⁸¹ *Missouri Republican*, November 17, 1870.

¹⁸² *Missouri Republican*, November 22, 1870.

formed. A preamble setting forth the object was signed by twenty-six persons and a committee appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws. The committee,¹⁸³ after several meetings, completed its task, drawing up an elaborate constitution,¹⁸⁴ providing for numerous committees and fixing upon the name "National Capital Removal Association of St. Louis" for their latest organized effort. The constitution was ratified at a meeting on November 28th,¹⁸⁵ and at a meeting the next day it was revised, by-laws were adopted, and the standing committees were appointed.¹⁸⁶ The changes in the constitution were slight, simply adding the word "appropriate" to the preamble, making it read as follows: "The object shall be the removal of the national capital to some central and *appropriate* place in the Valley of the Mississippi". A membership fee of \$10.00 was added as the easiest and the surest method of raising funds. Mr. Reavis was excused from this added obligation, however, presumably on account of the valuable services he had rendered the cause.¹⁸⁷

The Association seemed now ready for aggressive work, and at a meeting on December 7th it took up the consideration of a plan of campaign. The feeling generally expressed was that while removal was a fixed fact in their minds, yet if St. Louis intended doing anything she had to act, for Congress was assembling and the partial or initial victory of the appropriationists of the last session would be more than duplicated in this the third session of the Forty-first Congress. The question, then, of taking definite steps for removal was under consideration when Mr. Reavis presented his plan, which, he assured them, was already well under way and would be

¹⁸³ *Missouri Republican*, November 23, 1870.

¹⁸⁴ *Missouri Republican*, November 26, 1870.

¹⁸⁵ *Missouri Republican*, November 29, 1870.

¹⁸⁶ *Missouri Republican*, November 30 and December 1, 1870.

¹⁸⁷ *Missouri Republican*, December 8, 1870.

presented to Congress the following week. The plan was to memorialize Congress for a joint resolution asking the President to appoint a commission to inquire into and consider the whole matter of capital removal.¹⁸⁸ At an adjourned meeting held a week later yet another phase of the question was discussed — it was the question of the constitutionality of removal. The problem was disposed of by engaging a prominent lawyer to prepare an opinion on the constitutionality of removal, the purpose of course being to prove that there was no restriction in the organic law to a removal of the seat of government.¹⁸⁹ These acts practically concluded the activities of the St. Louis promoters. We must now turn to the final disposition of the matter in Congress.

At the opening of Congress, December 5, 1870, President Grant recommended in his message¹⁹⁰ an appropriation for the construction of a building for the Department of State. He pleaded for more adequate and conveniently located rooms for the preservation and protection of the valuable government papers, for they were at present poorly housed in rented buildings and their easy destruc-

¹⁸⁸ *Missouri Republican*, December 8, 1870.

¹⁸⁹ *Missouri Republican*, December 15, 1870.

¹⁹⁰ Richardson's *Messages and State Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. VII, p. 106. The following is an extract from the message:

"The condition of the archives at the Department of State calls for the early action of Congress. The building now rented by that Department is a frail structure at an inconvenient distance from the Executive Mansion and from the other Departments, is ill adapted to the purpose for which it is used, has not capacity to accommodate the archives, and is not fire-proof. Its remote situation, its slender construction and the absence of a supply of water in the neighborhood leaves but little hope of safety for either the building or its contents in case of the accident of a fire. Its destruction would involve the loss of the rolls containing the original acts and resolutions of Congress, of the historic records of the Revolution and of the Confederation, of the whole series of diplomatic and consular archives since the adoption of the Constitution, and of the many other valuable records and papers left with that Department when it was the principal depository of the governmental archives. I recommend an appropriation for the construction of a building for the Department of State."

tion would be an irremediable loss. Consequently he asked of Congress a total appropriation, for public works for 1871, of \$22,338,278.37, which was \$10,000,000 more than the appropriations for 1870.

The House, however, framed the appropriation bills for sundry civil expenses and for general appropriations with but little provision for Washington and the District of Columbia, save what was absolutely necessary. But the two bills on going to the Senate were soon loaded with amendments — the general appropriation bill which tapped the public crib for salaries being the one selected upon which to attach the appropriation for the new State building asked for by President Grant. Thus in connection with both of these bills the capital removal question was brought into prominence. The President took a more active hand now, urging the cause of buildings and improvements, both in private and in public. He even delivered a capital improvement speech, which Mr. Reavis, now a lobbyist, felt called upon to answer by writing a lengthy article for the *New York Tribune*.¹⁹¹

The Legislative Appropriation Bill was introduced in the House by Mr. Dawes on December 14th and was passed on January 18th and sent to the Senate.¹⁹² In the Senate it was soon plastered over with amendments, one of them being the amendment of February 10th of Mr. Morrill of Vermont and was ostensibly the same one passed by the Senate near the close of the previous session. It called for \$500,000 for the erection of the South wing of a new building which was to house the Departments of State, War, and Navy. It also provided for the extension of the capitol grounds by the purchase of two additional squares, but refrained from specifying the amount, except, that not more than \$100,000 should be drawn from the public treasury, the balance to be derived

¹⁹¹ *New York Tribune*, January 28, 1871.

¹⁹² *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, p. 584.

from the sale of any available government lots and buildings no longer needed. There was also \$50,000 added for general improvements.¹⁹³ The bill was discussed and amendments offered until February 21st, when with signal unanimity it passed with the capital amendments.¹⁹⁴ Senators Harlan and Yates now offered no objections; while Pomeroy of Kansas urged the Senators to stand by the appropriations and let the whole bill fail rather than surrender the cause of capitol improvement and the other amendments. On that same day Senator Ross of Kansas presented without comment the capital removal resolutions¹⁹⁵ passed by the Kansas legislature, and two days later Senator Pratt did the same for the Indiana resolutions.¹⁹⁶

The House received the bill on February 23rd and debated it for three days, when they asked the Senate for a conference.¹⁹⁷ There were three conferences held before the two houses could reach an agreement, the first one being appointed for February 28th.¹⁹⁸ The conference committee consisted of Dawes, C. C. Washburn, and Niblack from the House, and Sawyer, Trumbull, and Bayard from the Senate. The conferees of the Senate were bound by Senator Cole's motion¹⁹⁹ that the Senate insist on all of its amendments. It was not until March 2nd that the conference committee was ready to report, and then it was disagreement.²⁰⁰

The discussion in the House had been spirited, Logan leading the opposition which was easily strong enough to prevent concessions at this time. Concerning provisions

¹⁹³ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, p. 1111.

¹⁹⁴ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, p. 1447.

¹⁹⁵ *Senate Journal*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, p. 329.

¹⁹⁶ *Senate Journal*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, p. 342.

¹⁹⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, p. 1701.

¹⁹⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, p. 1700.

¹⁹⁹ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, p. 1771.

²⁰⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, p. 1866.

for the preservation and protection of the archives, Logan had "no objection to doing all that is proper to be done, and when the people themselves pay for it". But, in this case he opposed the appropriations for three reasons: *first*, the people would not submit quietly to these enormous burdens unless they could know that the expenditures would stop somewhere; *second*, the passage of these amendments with other excessive appropriations would kill the Republican party, and he was not desirous of attending its funeral; and in the *third* place his "expectation of the ultimate removal of the capital", and he bitterly charged that one object for investing so much money in Washington was to prevent people from ever changing the location of the capital. Logan claimed to be talking for western men of both parties. He brought in other issues, political and commercial, thus substantiating what Capt. Bent confessed, namely, that the movement was a ruse to obtain proper commercial consideration.

General Banks and Samuel P. Morrill of Maine, led the fight for the amendments. Banks grasped at Logan's conditional or implied acquiescence in a plan to protect the archives and offered the following resolution as a substitute for the conference report:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this House to have some adequate means within the State Department for the preservation of the valuable papers of that Department provided.

But Logan was loath to yield and objected on the ground that it "would inevitably lead to the building of a new State Department". General Banks now decided to test the strength of the two sides, and moved the suspension of the rules and the adoption of his motion. His motion was supported by fifty-eight to fifty; but since a two-thirds majority was required for suspension of the rules, it was lost. The conference report was not con-

curred in, and a second conference committee was appointed by each house.²⁰¹

The next day (March 3rd) the second conference committee reported non-agreement. In the Senate, John Sherman raised the question as to the real objections on the part of the House. Was it true, according to the newspapers, that the opposition in the House was based on the amendments increasing certain judicial salaries and the proposed building for the State Department? He wished to know what the discussion in the committee hinged upon. Sawyer then divulged the secrets of the committee²⁰² and gave four amendments which the House conferees opposed. Two had to do with the increase of certain salaries and two with parks and the extension of the capitol grounds, the new building amendment not being mentioned. It is rather singular, but such may have been the attitude of that particular House committee. Sherman now favored receding from their position; but again Sawyer's motion to insist on their amendments carried and a third conference team was appointed by the Senate.²⁰³ They were George F. Edmunds, James Harlan, and Garrett Davis.

The feeling in the House, expressed by Dawes, Farnsworth and others, was that the Senate was transgressing its right and propriety by offering amendments not properly within its jurisdiction, and this, too, at the close of a session when the urgency of passing the appropriation bill would be most likely to cause the opposition to yield.²⁰⁴ Dawes, however, finally counselled compromise (which proved the contention of the House) rather than jeopardize an \$18,000,000 appropriation bill, and

²⁰¹ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, pp. 1866, 1876. Committee: House — Dawes, Holman, Cullom; Senate — Sawyer, Morrill, Johnston.

²⁰² *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, p. 1887.

²⁰³ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, p. 1947.

²⁰⁴ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, p. 1899.

asked for the appointment of a third conference committee composed entirely of new men. This was accepted and the Speaker named Aaron A. Sargent, an advocate of the Senate's amendments, Burton C. Cook of Illinois, and George W. Morgan of Ohio.²⁰⁵ This was on March 3rd, and the Forty-first Congress would end the next day.

By compromise the committee was able to get together and reported agreement on the same day. Mr. Sargent in submitting the report to the House²⁰⁶ gave five points of difference which had broken up the two previous conferences. These were the same as those reported to the Senate by Mr. Sawyer, except that the amendment for the new State building was included as one. The agreement now reached was the rejection of the amendments for the new city parks and the extension of the capitol grounds, but the acceptance of the one for a new State building. The House committee thus yielded practically nothing but this one point. In reporting to the Senate, Mr. Edmunds said that concessions had to be made on both sides, and while the Senate committee yielded on some, they won in the demand for a State building.²⁰⁷ But the majority of the Senators were aggrieved and felt that their cause had been defeated; yet they finally concurred in the report, almost unanimously, in order after all to save the appropriations.²⁰⁸

Thus while Edmunds acted as peace-maker and carried with ease the vote of his colleagues, it was not so easy for Sargent to play the same role in the House. Then, too, one of the House conferees, Mr. Morgan, refused to sign the report, and he now took part in the debate against it, holding that the Senate amendments were not germane and if accepted would introduce dangerous

²⁰⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, p. 1900.

²⁰⁶ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, p. 1916.

²⁰⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, p. 1985.

²⁰⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, p. 1987.

legislation. He further declared, with truth, that "this scheme" — the \$500,000 appropriation for a State building — "could not stand on its own legs, so it was attached to an important appropriation bill"; he would table the whole bill, and let the new Congress deal with it.²⁰⁹ The amendment was quite generally regarded as the entering wedge for a series of appropriations for the new building which eventually might easily total \$10,000,000; it should be fought to the end. Again, there was nothing said in the bill as to the *kind* of stone to be used, that being left to the discretion of a joint committee on Public Grounds and Buildings. It was on this point now that the fight was made. Logan cried "job"; and at once Fox of New York came back at him, insisting that he explain the implication by naming the parties. A general verbal battle ensued, some unpleasant things were said, charges and countercharges of corruption were made, and personalities were indulged in²¹⁰—even Grant's name was brought in. It was finally agreed that the selection of material could safely be left with the committee. An attempt was made to table the bill, but Sargent secured a vote by the "previous question" route and it was passed by a minority vote²¹¹ of thirteen — forty-four not voting. So both houses concurred, and the bill went to the President who signed it the same day.²¹² It may be worth noting that the Middle West, as in 1870, voted almost solidly against the appropriations; and still an examination of the vote will show that there were enough western Representatives either not voting (notably Ohio) or vot-

²⁰⁹ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, p. 1918.

²¹⁰ Fox brought the "laughter" of the House upon Logan by saying: "Any man who does not think with his feet or dance on his head knows very well the capital will never be removed from Washington."

²¹¹ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, p. 1920. The vote was: yeas, 100; nays, 87; not voting, 44.

²¹² *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, p. 1941.

ing almost solidly for the measure (Michigan and Wisconsin) to have prevented its passage.

The bill for "Sundry Civil Expenses" passed also the same day (March 3rd). It had been introduced on February 20th, and it contained many amendments appropriating money for improvements at Washington, carrying a total of \$200,000 for grounds, buildings, and repairs; besides this it carried even more for the District of Columbia at large.²¹³

In the meantime what had become of the direct effort in Congress to obtain removal? On December 20, 1870, Representative John F. Benjamin of Missouri submitted²¹⁴ to Congress the memorial prepared by Mr. Reavis as Secretary of the "National Executive Committee" and spoken of as the "Memorial of the Cincinnati Convention".²¹⁵ It was sent to the Committee on Public Expenditures of which John Coburn of Indiana was chairman. The memorial was a carefully prepared though brief statement of the case and was signed by members of the "National Executive Committee", State and city officials, and prominent citizens—among these were Joseph Medill, E. L. Baker of the *Illinois State Journal*, McKee & Fishback of the *Missouri Democrat*, E. L. Merritt of the *Illinois Register*, Capt. James B. Eads, Dr. J. H. McLean, President and Treasurer of the "Capital Removal Association of St. Louis", Hon. Nathan Cole, E. B. Harlan, President of the "National Executive Committee", and of course by Mr. Reavis, the Secretary. It was also signed by members of the city council of St. Louis, by most of the Illinois State officials, including Newton Bateman, Illinois's great Superintendent of Pub-

²¹³ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, pp. 1443, 1605-1612, 1615, 1677-1679, 1708, 1718, 1752, 1756, 1758, 1891-1898, 1973, 1998. For the Act see Part III, Appendix, p. 363.

²¹⁴ *Missouri Republican*, December 24, 1870.

²¹⁵ *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. XI, No. 105.

lic Instruction; but the name of Governor Palmer was missing, while the names of three other governors appear, namely, David Butler of Nebraska, B. Gratz Brown of Missouri, and Samuel Merrill of Iowa. Then there was also appended the signed personal endorsement of Horace Greeley (taken from the *Tribune* of December 19, 1870) which reads as follows:

The undersigned unites in the foregoing memorial to Congress, to the extent of urging that the whole subject of a final location of the capital of the Union be considered and set at rest before any further expenditures be incurred for the erection of public edifices at Washington.

Other resolutions were also submitted, and at the most critical juncture, in the House. The Kansas legislative resolutions²¹⁶ were presented on February 20th and sent to the Committee on the District of Columbia, while those of the Indiana legislature²¹⁷ were submitted three days later and sent to the Committee on Public Expenditures — the same committee that had the memorial of the Cincinnati convention. This committee reported on March 3rd, giving both majority and minority reports. The majority report was made by Mr. Donley of Pennsylvania and was "to lay on table and postpone indefinitely".²¹⁸ Mr. Coburn submitted the minority report.²¹⁹ It was a lengthy dissertation upon the history of the establishment of the capital, the development of the country, and arguments for removal, together with a detailed account of all appropriations made for the city of Washington and the various States. There were a few inquiries about the formalities of the report and it was

²¹⁶ *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. XI, No. 91.

²¹⁷ *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. XI, No. 100.

²¹⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, p. 1940.

²¹⁹ *House Reports (Committees)*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, No. 52.

ordered to be tabled and printed, and with the majority report indefinitely postponed.

The capital improvement appropriations had finally triumphed and the active movement for removal, having no hope in further effort, collapsed. Soon great changes were wrought at Washington, and President Grant in his message as early as December 1, 1873, could say:

The city of Washington is rapidly assuming the appearance of a capital of which the nation may well be proud. . . . it is now one of the most sightly cities in the country, and can boast of being the best paved.

The work was done systematically thus securing permanency when completed. . . . the nation at large having an interest in their capital, I recommend a liberal policy toward the District of Columbia, and that the Government shall bear its just share of the expense of these improvements. Every citizen visiting the capital, feels a pride in its growing beauty, and that he too is part owner in the investments made here. . . . There is no other place in which every citizen is so directly interested.

The movement to remove the capital, the bid made for it by the West, was a mere episode; yet it illustrates the growing self-consciousness, both economic and political, of that section of the country. And, though the movement ended with the adoption of the policy of capital improvement the idea continued for some time in the western mind. The hope of removal even lingered in the minds of some. Teachers in the public schools as late as 1880 made note of the fact that the capital was far to one side of the population center as well as the geographical center of the United States. This might, or even would, some day be corrected and the capital be removed to its logical, geographical location. But *The Nation* was right. "Western men are glad to come East". Even the remnant of the "capital movers", with Colonel

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Clark E. Carr, "would not now favor a movement for a change in the location of the capital", for besides the want of a real need, "the city has become more beautiful than any other capital in the world."

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK AND DETROIT 1780-1781

BY JAMES ALTON JAMES

"Never was a person more mortified than I was at this time, to see so fair an opportunity to push a victory; Detroit lost for want of a few men."¹ In this way, George Rogers Clark expressed his sense of defeat at being forced to abandon the expedition against that post planned for the summer months of 1779.

Before setting out from Vincennes to establish his headquarters at the Falls of the Ohio, Clark issued orders to the officers left in command of the Illinois country for the collection of supplies to be used in a campaign against Detroit the following Spring. When he reached the Falls, he found the work of settling on the mainland going forward rapidly.² Influenced by the reports of Clark's victories, immigrants in large numbers entered Kentucky. Seventy men and several families reached the Falls in one day during April. Several hundred were then reported to be ready to set out from Virginia.³ By order of the County Court a regular government for the town, which received the name of Louisville, was established through the selection of seven trustees.⁴

¹ Clark's Letter to Mason, November 19, 1779.

² Clark ordered Captain William Linn, shortly after the capture of *Kaakaakia*, to return to Kentucky with the volunteers whose three months enlistment had expired. He directed him to establish a permanent fort on the Kentucky shore directly above the Falls to which the settlers were to remove. By December 25 the fort was completed and all of the community took part in the feast and dance given as a "house warming." — *Fulton Club Publications*, Vol. VIII, p. 30.

³ *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 49, J, 36.

⁴ According to this order of April 7, 1779, trustees to be elected in

The plan submitted by Clark to the surveyors engaged in laying off the town would if adopted have made Louisville, we are told, "the most beautiful city on the continent".⁵ It provided for a reservation of land along the river front as a public park. Connected with the court-house lot, which was to contain two whole squares, was to be a park half a square in breadth extending the entire length of the town. He constructed a new house which was notable at the time for a "large room built of hewed logs on the inside" and which had a good plank floor.⁶ Upon invitation men and women journeyed from the other settlements to take part in the ball and other festivities which marked its completion.⁷

any of the Kentucky towns were given authority "to lay off the town with regularity" and prescribe rules for buildings. The plan of the town and proceedings of the trustees were to be returned to the county court. April 24 was the day set by the trustees of Louisville for drawing the half acre lots to which each person was entitled. The drawing had been advertised in Harrodsburg, Boonesborough, and St. Asaphs, and it is probable some of the citizens of these communities took part in the lottery. One hundred and sixteen assignments were made. Those thus securing village lots agreed to clear off the undergrowth and begin the cultivation of the soil by June 10. By December 25 a "good covered house" sixteen by twenty feet was to be built on each lot. — *Filson Club Publications*, Vol. VIII, p. 34.

⁵ *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 35, J, 47. Letter of R. T. Durrett to Lyman C. Draper, April 19, 1883.

⁶ *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 57, J, 23. *Trabue Narrative*.

⁷ *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 51, J, 24.

"Some of us", Trabue writes, "went from Logans Fort we went by Harrodsburg stayed all night in the morning Col Harod & his Lady Col McGarry & several other gentlemen & ladys started about 20 men & about 6 Ladys when we had got about one mile from the Fort I Discovered Indians in the woods and running to Get before us I told McGarry of it. he halted the company and he went to examine the sighn. he came back said he saw the indians and he was not able to fight them while he had these women and we retrated to the Fort. a party of men went from the fort and found the Indians had gone away. The next morning we set out again we had about 15 men & 3 ladies. . . . we got safe to the falls. . . . He made a ball a number of Jentlemen & Ladies attended to it and when these Fort Ladys came to be dressed up they did not look like the same everything looked anew. we enjoyed ourselves very much Col. Harrod &

As settlements increased confusion arose over conflict of titles to the land. Four commissioners were appointed by Virginia to adjudicate land claims and to grant settlement and pre-emption rights in the County of Kentucky.⁸ Glowing accounts describing this region as the "richest under the sun" continued to induce increasing numbers of immigrants to enter Kentucky during the summer. The soil could not, it was said, be surpassed in richness; vast natural meadows furnished a range which seemed inexhaustible; and great herds of buffalo, elk, and deer were common.⁹ So great was the impulse to secure lands in the West that people in certain parts of Virginia were reported to be "running mad for Kentucky".¹⁰

Companies were organized through whose agency individuals and speculators were enabled to acquire possession of large tracts.¹¹ The abuse of such a system was set forth in the following letter to Clark:

His lady opened the ball by Dancing the first gig we had plenty of rum Toddy to Drink we stayed there some few days."

⁸ *Henings Statutes at Large*, Vol. X, Sec. 2, p. 43. The Commissioners were William Fleming, Edmund Lyne, James Barbour, and Stephen Trigg. Their first meeting was at Harrodsburg, October 13, 1779.

Each person who had prior to January 1, 1778, settled upon any waste and unappropriated lands on the western waters "to which no other hath any legal right or claim" was entitled to a settlement right of four hundred acres. The State was to receive two dollars and a quarter for each hundred acres thus acquired. Besides, each person with a settlement right was entitled to acquire one thousand acres adjacent thereto, known as a preëmption, upon the payment of forty dollars for each one hundred acres. Three thousand two hundred claims were adjusted by the Commissioners.

⁹ *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 23, J, 164.

¹⁰ *Draper Manuscript Collections, Jonathan Clark Papers*, Vol. I, p. 71. October 23, 1779.

¹¹ *Draper Manuscript Collections, Jonathan Clark Papers*, Vol. I, p. 65. Letter of General Muhlenberg to Jonathan Clark, September 15, 1779.

"I have just seen an advertisement in a Virginia paper of the 28th. of August signed Isaac Hite, Abr. Bowman and J. Bowman wherein they mention that they had entered into written articles with sundry persons relative to lands on Kentuckett and desire that all persons who have signed shall before the first day of October pay to Isaac Hite £40 besides fees for every 100 acres they have subscribed for otherwise they will not be bound

And when I was with you I thought my acquaintance Mr. Randolph was likewise attached to the interest of the Kentucky settlements but I am sorry to inform you that I have reason to believe the contrary, for on looking over the books in the Land Office I found a Certain Mr. Bealle had taken out warrents to the amount of 140,000 acres of land at least, part of which was entered assigned to Mr. N. Randolph, & now is this consonant with the doctrine he held when I was with you & is it consistent with the interest of that country to assist a man (and a Speculator too) in locating such a body of Land (& I suppose to of the Richest sort) when he will never see the Country, or if he did, the portion is to large — no man can hesitate a moment to pronounce that it is not the Interest of the back Country — evil tendancy will so fully appear to you that I will quit the subject & say nothing more about it.¹²

Actual settlers plead for relief from similar encroachments in a petition to the Virginia Assembly. "A constant war for four years", they declared, "has reduced many of us so low that we have scarce cattle enough amongst us to supply our small families and many of us that brought good stocks of both horses and cows now at this juncture have not left so much as one cow for the support of our families. We have thought it proper to present you with a just estimate of our losses in settling and defending this extensive country. In the late act of the Assembly in opening and establishing a land office many of the petitioners are not able to get as much as one hundred acres unless there is some redress. This must be the unhappy event that we must lie under the disagreeable necessity of going down the Mississippi to the Spanish protection or becoming tenants to private gentlemen who have men employed at this juncture in this country by the articles. What think you of it? I have subscribed for 2000 acres but the time is too short. Shall I lose my chance or not? Have you any share or have you subscribed? or do you remember the conditions?"

¹² *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 50, J, 2. January 24, 1780.

try at one hundred pounds per thousand for running round the lands".¹³

By November, 1779, the inhabitants had so far lost their fears of Indian forays that they ventured to build cabins on their several tracts of land and take possession.¹⁴ In a council with his officers at Louisville, November 16, Clark took up the discussion of the preparation necessary for an expedition against Detroit in the success of which, as he expressed it, "my very soul was wrapt".¹⁵ The reduction of West Florida, also a favorite topic with Clark, was likewise considered.¹⁶ It was agreed that at least one thousand troops would be necessary for the "long tedious fatiguing march through a hostile country" to Detroit. With no savages to encounter, with the inhabitants well affected toward Americans, and with the certainty of an early breaking out of war between Spain and Great Britain, five hundred men were thought to be adequate to take possession of West Florida.

By this time winter, long remembered as the "hard winter", had set in. For three months snow covered the ground and the rivers were frozen to the bottom. Most of the cattle and thousands of buffalo, deer, turkeys, and other animals perished.¹⁷ Settlers were reduced to the

¹³ *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Trip VI, 31.

¹⁴ *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 4, CC, 89.

¹⁵ Clark to Jefferson, October 1, 1781. — *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Trip VI, 1860, 73.

¹⁶ *English's Conquest of the Northwest*, Vol. II, pp. 698-701.

¹⁷ *Draper Manuscript Collections*, *McAdfee Papers*, *Kentucky Manuscripts*, Vol. IV, 25; also *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 57, J, 47.

This condition was general throughout the country as indicated in a letter to Clark from George Meriwether, January 24, 1780. — *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 50, J, 2. "After much fatigue of travel I reached home two days before Christmas & had the pleasure of finding my family and concerns well, tho the weather still continues colder than was ever known by the oldest man among us, I have just returned thro' it from Wmsburg, there I learnt that Hamton Road & the Bay almost to the Capes is Frozend up many vessels are sunk by the ice and more expect the same fate, a number of people at different places have perished by the cold &

utmost extremity for want of bread. "One Johnny-cake was often divided into twelve equal parts twice each day". Corn rose from fifty dollars a bushel in November to two hundred dollars in March.¹⁸ "If we was only now in Old Virginia", one exclaimed, "we could have something good to eat and drink but hear we have nothing to eat in this dreary wilderness and we dont know when we shall have."¹⁹ The suffering of many families on their way to Kentucky and forced to pass the winter on the Cumberland was even more extreme.²⁰

But by February 20, winter had disappeared and the tide of immigration again set in with increasing activity. Three hundred large family boats arrived at the Falls during the Spring months, and a number of new settlements were begun.²¹ The inhabitants moved out to their clearings and planted corn and vegetables which early gave promise of an unusual crop.²² Apple trees were be-

ice, tho this calamity of our navigation being stopt excuses us from a Visit from the English Fleet that we stood much in fear of."

¹⁸ Continental Money. — *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Note Book II, 108, 112.

¹⁹ *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 57, J, 47.

²⁰ *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 57, J, 47.

"Many in the Wilderness frost bit Some dead. Some eat of the dead cattle and horses when the winter broak the men would go to kill the buffaloes and bring them home to eat but they was so poore a number of people would be taken sich and did actually Die for the want of food the most of the people had to go to the Falls of the Ohio for corn to plant."

²¹ It has been estimated that 20,000 people entered Kentucky during the years 1779 and 1780. — *Draper Manuscript Collections*, *McAfee Papers*, *Kentucky Manuscripts*, Vol. IV, p. 25. This is doubtless an over-estimate. Large numbers came with land warrants and after making their locations returned to Virginia. The leading settlements by the close of the year 1780 were Harrodsburg, Boonesborough, Logans, Bryan's Camp, McAfee's, Licking, Elkhorn, Froman's, Sullivan's, Floyd's, Spring, Hogeland's, Asturgis, Linn's, Cain, Boone's, Lexington. — *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 49, J, 89; Vol. 4, CC, 89-109.

²² Corn fell in price within a few days from 130 to 35 dollars a bushel and soon there was no market for it. — *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 46, J, 54. Clark to Fleming, April 4, 1780.

ginning to bear and peach trees were loaded with fruit. In the midst of these flattering prospects for an unusual year the Shawnee Indians appeared in the Beargrass settlements.²³ Settlers who did not take refuge in stations were cut off in the usual way. The utmost precaution had to be used to prevent surprises, and general gloom pervaded the settlements.

For Clark the year 1780 was the most significant of his career. At no time did he demonstrate in more varied and striking ways his ability as an organizer and leader of men under adverse conditions. Full power was granted him by Governor Jefferson either to engage in a campaign against Detroit, or to lead an expedition against the Shawnee, or to construct a fort at the mouth of the Ohio.²⁴ He declined to accede to the requests of the Kentuckians for a retaliatory expedition against the Shawnee, and declared to them if they were ready to furnish one thousand men and five months' provisions the capture of Detroit would be assured and that they would then have permanent peace. With the usual promises of pay he engaged workmen to construct one hundred boats which were to be completed within two months. They were to be used to transport provisions on this expedition.

Some months earlier Clark gave the reasons for a fort near the mouth of the Ohio. It would become at once, he thought, the key to the trade of the West; and in protecting this trade he had been forced to station an

²³ *Draper Manuscript Collections, McAfee Papers, Kentucky Manuscripts*, Vol. IV, p. 28.

There were six stations on Beargrass Creek, having at the time six hundred men in their population.

²⁴ *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 29, J, 8-17. Jefferson to Clark, January 29, 1780. *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 26, J, 14. Patrick Henry contemplated the building of a fort at the same place in 1777 for the purpose of facilitating intercourse with the Spaniards at New Orleans. January 14, 1778. Patrick Henry to Governor Galvez — *Archivo General de Indias, Seville Estante 87, Cajón 1, legajo 6*.

armed boat so as to command the navigation of both rivers. It would become a post from which the Chickasaw and the English posts on the Mississippi could be controlled. Tories and deserters in large numbers passing down the river might there be apprehended.²⁵ Besides, some such course was necessary; for, during the spring, the British were regaining their control over the Indians and were again about to attempt the recapture of the Illinois country. As a check to such an expedition and at the same time to furnish a stronghold for the protection of the western country against the encroachments of the Spaniards, Clark and Todd agreed to concentrate the troops at a fort to be built at the mouth of the Ohio.²⁶ At the time the regular force available for defense of the several posts was not over one hundred and fifty men.²⁷ Owing to a failure of the crops the Illinois towns were no longer able to furnish supplies, and there was no hope of succor from Virginia.²⁸ In his letter directing the establishment of the post, Jefferson wrote as follows:

The less you depend for supplies from this quarter the less will you be disappointed by those impediments which distances and a precarious foreign commerce throws in the way — for these reasons it will be eligible to withdraw as many of your men as you can from the west side of the Ohio, leaving only as many men as will be necessary for keeping the Illinois settlements in spirits.²⁹

His reasons for establishing a fort at the mouth of

²⁵ September 23, 1779, Clark to Jefferson. — British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 21844, folio 115.

²⁶ Clark to Todd, March, 1780. "I am not Clear but the Spaniards would fondly suffer their Settlements in the Illinois to fall with ours for the sake of having the opportunity of Retaking Both. I doubt they are too fond of Territory to think of Restoring it again." — Virginia State Library, *Clark Manuscripts*.

²⁷ March, 1780, Clark to Todd. — Virginia State Library, *Clark Manuscripts*.

²⁸ *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 29, J, 8-17. January 29, 1780, Jefferson to Clark.

²⁹ *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 29, J, 8-17.

the Ohio were: (1) that it would facilitate trade with the Illinois and be near enough to furnish aid to that territory;³⁰ and (2) that this fort together with others to be established on the Ohio would furnish a chain of defense for the western frontier and at the same time protect the trade with New Orleans.³¹ On April 14 Clark set out from Louisville for the purpose of building this fort, which was finally located five miles below the mouth of the Ohio and was named Fort Jefferson. Settlers were attracted to this location through the promise of four hundred acres of land to each family at a price to be fixed by the General Assembly.³²

The troops were withdrawn from Vincennes and Fort Patrick Henry was garrisoned only by a company of French Militia under Major Bosseron. Orders were sent Colonel Montgomery to retire most of the troops from the Illinois villages. But before the evacuation actually took place it was learned that an attack by the British was imminent.

With the series of events thus introduced, Clark was forced to forego the expedition to Detroit. His activity was remarkable. With a small force he set out on May 13 in answer to appeals for his presence, and he reached Cahokia in time to foil the British attack on St. Louis and the Illinois posts. He dispatched a force of three hundred and fifty regulars and French volunteers against the Sauk and Fox Indians. Learning of the British designs against Kentucky under Captain Bird, he returned to Fort Jefferson and then struck off with two companions on his perilous trip to Harrodsburg where he learned of the retreat of the British. Clark began at once the

³⁰ *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 50, J, 5.

³¹ *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 46, J, 57.

³² This measure was recommended by Clark and adopted by Todd in order to secure men to assist in building the fort and engage in supplying food for the garrison. March, 1780, Clark to Todd. June 2, 1780, Todd to Jefferson. — Virginia State Library, *Clark Manuscripts*.

organization of a retaliatory expedition. With characteristic decision he ordered the land office closed and proceeded to enlist volunteers from the crowd eagerly awaiting the opportunity to get an assignment of land. At the head of one thousand men he advanced secretly against the Indian towns of Chillicothe and Piqua, routed the Indians, reduced their strongholds to ashes and laid waste their fields. So effective was this campaign of a month's duration that Kentucky was free from any organized Indian invasion for upwards of two years.

At the close of the campaign Clark was free once more to develop plans for the capture of Detroit. He was aware that the only assistance to be furnished him for the balance of the year from Virginia would be a single regiment under Colonel Crockett. But he was assured that an important expedition under his command was to be undertaken the ensuing year.³³ The presence of Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, George Mason, and other Virginia leaders in the House of Delegates promised a more aggressive policy in the West. Moreover, Governor Jefferson with full appreciation of the significance of the capture of Detroit had appealed to Washington to furnish powder for the expedition, the burden of which was otherwise to be borne by Virginia.³⁴ Jefferson was aware that prompt action was necessary for there was unmistakable evidence that an expedition would be sent against Kentucky in the Spring.³⁵ Clark himself proceeded to Richmond to consult over the means possible for checking this

³³ June 4, 1780, John Todd to Clark. — *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 50, J, 40.

³⁴ September 29, 1780, Jefferson to Clark. — *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 50, J, 62.

At the time there was a powerful British army in the South which had but recently overcome General Gates.

³⁵ Virginia State Library, *Clark Manuscripts*, Bundle I. November 30, 1780, Todd to Jefferson.

formidable invasion. By December 25 full instructions were drawn up under which Clark was to advance with two thousand men into the hostile territory at the earliest practicable moment after the opening of navigation. The ultimate goal was to be the reduction of Detroit and the control of Lake Erie.²⁶ Such a movement was intended to place the British on the defensive. If no check were given their advance in this way, militia would ultimately have to be withdrawn, it was feared, from the South to be sent against them.

The effects of the reduction of Detroit were stated by Jefferson in the following:

If that Post be reduced we shall be quiet in future on our frontier, and thereby immense Treasure of blood and money be saved, we shall be at leisure to throw our whole force to the rescue of our Eastern country from subjugation, we shall divert through our own country a branch of commerce which the European States have thought worthy of the most important struggles and sacrifices and in the event of peace on terms which have been contemplated by some powers we shall form to the American Union a barrier against the dangerous extension of the British Province of Canada and add to the Empire of Liberty an extensive and fertile country thereby converting dangerous enemies into valuable friends.

Frontier militia, "well armed with arms suitable to Western service" together with a batallion under Colonel Crockett, were ordered sent to Fort Pitt by March 1.²⁷ They were to be commanded by Clark. By March 15 the Kentucky militia were to rendezvous at the Falls of the Ohio, and ammunition and provisions for the entire

²⁶ *Jefferson's Letter Book*, 1781, pp. 10-14. December 25, 1780.

²⁷ Orders were issued to the County Lieutenants of Monongalia and Ohio counties to furnish one-fourth of their militia. Hampshire was to furnish two hundred and fifty-five men; Berkeley, two hundred and seventy-five; Frederic, two hundred and eighty-five; and Greenbrier, one hundred and thirty-seven. The Greenbrier militia was to act as escort for three hundred pack-horses to be sent forward with powder and lead.

force were to be collected at the same place by that time.³⁸

The promise for success was greater when it was known that Washington was ready to answer the appeals for assistance. "I have been of opinion," he wrote Jefferson, "that the reduction of the post of Detroit would be the only certain means of giving peace and security to the whole western frontier and I have constantly kept my eye on that object I shall think it a most happy circumstance should our State, with the aid of Continental stores which you require be able to accomplish it."³⁹ In keeping with this promise he ordered Colonel Brodhead at Ft. Pitt to give the enterprise every possible assistance by furnishing, upon Clark's order, the supplies asked for and a detachment of Continental troops, including a company of artillery as large as could be spared.⁴⁰

In order that any question of rank might not interfere with complete exercise of power by Clark, Jefferson urged that a Continental commission should be bestowed on him by Washington. This was not possible under the established rule which forbade the granting of such a commission to officers in State regiments. On January 22, however, Clark was made Brigadier General of the forces to be embodied on an expedition westward of the Ohio.⁴¹

³⁸ The counties of Fayette, Lincoln, and Jefferson, together were to furnish five hundred militia.

³⁹ Sparks's *Washington's Writings*, Vol. VII, December 28, 1780.

⁴⁰ Sparks's *Washington's Writings*, Vol. VII, pp. 343-345. December 29, 1780, Washington to Brodhead.

"I do not think," Washington wrote, "the charge of the enterprise could have been committed to better hands than Col. Clark's. I have not the pleasure of knowing the gentleman but independently of the proofs of his activity and address the unbounded confidence which I am told the Western people repose in him is a matter of most importance."

⁴¹ *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 51, J, 18.

The Commission was granted under authority of Jefferson with the advice of the Council of State evidently on account of some misgivings on

For some time Clark had been engaged, under the direction of Baron Steuben, in carrying on a defensive movement against Benedict Arnold. The day following the receipt of Washington's approval for the western expedition, Jefferson directed Clark to secure his release in order that he might set out for the frontier.⁴²

Clark was not well on his way to Ft. Pitt before Jefferson was made aware of difficulties which must be overcome if the enterprise were to succeed. The issue of orders for the drafting of the militia of Berkeley County to march immediately to the Falls of the Ohio served to demonstrate that extreme measures would be necessary to induce men to enlist. "We beg leave to represent to your Excellency," so the recruiting officer wrote, "that we have seventy men now on duty from this County, now in the Southern army, which with the 68 we are to raise for the army and the 275 now ordered into service will make near one-half the militia of this County fit for duty. From these circumstances and the immense distance from here to the falls of the Ohio, being by the way of Fort Pitt, little less than a thousand miles, we are sorry to inform your Excellency that we have the greatest reason to believe that those whose Turn it now is from this County will suffer any punishment rather than obey our orders for their march. So general an Opposition to orders of Government from such a number we think of too much consequence at this crisis for us to proceed without informing your Excellency of the difficulties with
the part of Clark relative to his relations to Continental officers of the same rank as his own.

January 18, 1781, Clark to Jefferson. — Virginia State Library, *Clark Manuscripts*.

The wording of the commission was due to the fact that according to the laws of the State a general officer might be appointed only for a special purpose.

⁴² *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 51, J, 7. January 13, 1781, Jefferson to Clark. January 22, Clark started for Fort Pitt.

which the execution of those orders will be attended.”⁴³

The drafting in Frederick County served to show similar aversion to the undertaking. By the report of the County Lieutenant not more than twenty guns were available for the two hundred and eighty men to be equipped.⁴⁴ Officers of Greenbrier County, in answer to entreaties from the inhabitants who were fearful of the dangers to which they would be exposed upon the withdrawal of so large a force, requested that their quota for the Continental army should not be demanded until the return of the militia about to leave for the West.⁴⁵ Attempts to collect provisions and men in Hampshire County resulted in actual mutiny by some seventy men.⁴⁶ With a lax military law, and fearful lest the attempt at enforcement of his orders would lead to open disobedience, Jefferson adopted the suggestion of the county officials and issued a call for volunteers. Besides, the men constituting the regiment of regular troops under Col. Crockett then marching to Ft. Pitt, were suffering for want of suitable clothing and were without shoes.⁴⁷

⁴³ January 25, 1781. — *Virginia State Papers*, Vol. I, p. 461.

⁴⁴ *Virginia State Papers*, Vol. I, p. 502. February 9, 1781, Col. John Smith to Jefferson.

⁴⁵ March 21, 1781. *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 51, J, 33.

Within two months, Cornwallis was retreating pursued by Greene who was aided by Campbell with two thousand militia from the back counties of Virginia, and by Sumpter with the militia of the Carolinas.

⁴⁶ *Virginia State Papers*, Vol. II, pp. 40, 41.

Governor Harrison as late as May 30, 1783, asked for a remedy for this defect in citing the case of sixteen men who were ordered to defend a jail and stores. Ten of them refused to obey the order. — *Letter Book of Benjamin Harrison*, 1783-1786, pp. 143, 144.

⁴⁷ *Virginia State Papers*, Vol. I, p. 572. March 14, 1781, Crockett to Jefferson.

At this time the distress of the regular army was likewise extreme as is shown in the following letter: “The men are utterly unable to keep the field from want of almost every species of clothing. Many are dependent upon others for a part of a blanket to shelter them at night from the cold. Want of shirts and shoes is another distressful circumstance. Men are not able to do anything in the field and near 60 of them

In this extremity Clark did not lose confidence and declared: "I begin to fear the want of men but the Idea of a disappointment is so disagreeable to me that if the Authority and Influence that I have with every Exertion that can be made will Carry my point I shall certainly do it without your orders for the Enterprise is Countermanded or a failiour in the supplies I am to Receive which I hope will not be the case."⁴⁸ The prospect of assistance from the remaining counties was still promising. By February 13 Baron Steuben upon the request of Jefferson had ordered Col. John Gibson with his regiment, consisting of two hundred regulars, to be added to Clark's command.⁴⁹

The artillery company ordered to accompany Clark from Ft. Pitt was lacking in the quota of officers and men necessary for that service, and the equipment in cannon, shells, shot, and other stores was inadequate.⁵⁰ Accumulation of supplies for the expedition was so much delayed that the time of setting out from Ft. Pitt was extended to June. After three weeks deliberation Congress agreed to grant the request of the Board of War for the supplies. Three weeks longer were necessary for their col-

too naked to do anything in quarters and every idea of training them for actual service has long since been laid aside. Another misfortune is in the method of issuing clothing. A good pair of stockings is given to a naked soldier to-day; he has no shoes and wears them out by the next week, and in a fortnight afterwards when his stockings are gone he gets his shoes or perhaps he gets a fashionable hat but has no shirt or if he has he is without breeches. By this means the country runs into debt and the soldier is always uncomfortable and utterly devoid of military pride of appearance. There never will be a possibility of preventing desertions till men find it more comfortable to be soldiers than has generally been the case of the Virginia line." — January 25, 1781, Col. Wm. Davis to Jefferson, *Virginia State Papers*, Vol. I, pp. 462, 463.

⁴⁸ February 10, 1781, Clark to Jefferson, Virginia State Library, *Clark Manuscripts*.

⁴⁹ Virginia State Library, *Clark Manuscripts*. February 13, 1781, Jefferson to Clark. Gibson was to be second in command.

⁵⁰ *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 51, J, 31.

lection, owing to the lack of both men and money.⁵¹ The kegs in which powder was being forwarded from Philadelphia were so poor that a delay of two weeks was necessary at one point in order to make new ones.⁵²

During this period of waiting Clark learned of the abuses incident to the conduct of public affairs in the West. Reports of the subordination of public interest to private gain were not however confined to any one section of the country. It was a period when sheriffs in Virginia were accused of misappropriating large sums of county money with which to invest in land office warrants.⁵³ State assemblies were called on by Congress to put a stop to illicit trade carried on with the enemy.⁵⁴ Clark's confidence in some of his former associates was misplaced and he poured out his resentment as follows:

Its surprising to me that Major Slaughter as an officer of the State would suffer those persons to persevere in their Villany was he as he hints truly sensible of the principal that actuated them you know my sentiments respecting Sevril persons in our employ. those he accuses are Genly men of fair Characters. I have long since determined to Conduct myself with a particular rigour towards every person under me. . . . But to reflect on the steps I have been obliged to make use of to prosecute a war for these several years there is an indignity in it that often Hurt me. . . . These gentlemen Major Slaughter points at with himself may expect to undergo the strictest Scrutiny in a short time as orders are prepared for that purpose. Mr. Jno Dodge and others of the Illinois also, the whole proceedings shall be transmitted to your Excellency.⁵⁵

Early in May Clark suffered his greatest disappoint-

⁵¹ *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 51, J, 46.

⁵² *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 51, J, 33.

⁵³ Report concerning Sheriffs, November 17, 1779. Special Committee of House of Delegates, Virginia State Library.

⁵⁴ *Virginia Executive Communications*, October 21 to December 28, 1782.

⁵⁵ *Virginia State Papers*, Vol. 1, p. 597.

ment upon learning that Colonel Brodhead had refused to allow the regiment under Colonel John Gibson to accompany him. The surprise and disappointment was the greater since Brodhead had given assurance of his complete coöperation.⁵⁶ By the middle of March, Brodhead regarded his own condition as desperate. He feared an attack from Detroit and in that event he believed that large numbers of the inhabitants would aid the enemy.⁵⁷ Besides, he was confident that the revolt of the Delawares that were not under Moravian influence was about to lead to a general Indian war,⁵⁸ and three hundred men were sent against them. That volunteers joined this expedition in order to avoid accompanying Clark cannot be definitely asserted, but it is certain his enlistments were partially affected thereby. Brodhead was convinced that he was well within his instructions in refusing to grant Clark's request for a regiment. His orders read:

You will likewise direct the officers with the company of artillery to be ready to move, when Colonel Clark shall call for them; and it is my wish to give the enterprise every aid which our small force can afford. You will be pleased to form such a detachment as you can safely spare from your own and Gibson's regiments and put it under the command of Colonel Clark also. I would suppose the detachment cannot be made more than a

⁵⁶ February 24, 1781, Brodhead to Clark. — *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 51, J, 28.

"You may rely on every supply I am authorized to afford to facilitate your expedition."

⁵⁷ March 19, 1781, Brodhead to Clark. — *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 51, J, 32.

"An Indian man has just brought in a letter which was sent by some of the inhabitants to the Enemy at Detroit with information that about one hundred of them were ready to join them so soon as they could be informed that they should be received by the commanding officer there."

⁵⁸ March, 1781, Brodhead to Clark. — *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 51, J, 27.

"I have wrote the County Lieutenants to meet at my quarters on the 15th. instant to consult on means to protect our Settlements and annoy the enemy."

command for a Captain or Major at most. Your good sense will, I am convinced, make you view this matter in its true light.⁵⁹

Clark's position was likewise tenable, for he had interpreted Jefferson's dispatch to mean that by the consent of Baron Steuben and Washington he was to be accompanied by Gibson's regiment and Heath's company.⁶⁰

Both men appealed to Washington. "From your Excellencies letters to Col. Brodhead", Clark wrote, "I conceived him to be at liberty to furnish what men he pleased."⁶¹ . . . If you should approve of the troops in this department joining our forces tho they are few the acquisition may be attended with great and good consequences as two hundred only might turn the scale in our favor." The next day he appealed again for assistance, saying: "For in part it has been the influence of our posts in the Illinois and Ouabash that have saved the frontiers and in great measure baffled the designs of the Enemy at Detroit If they get possession of them they then command three times the number of Valuable warriors they do at present and will be fully enabled to carry any point they aim at Except we should have a formidable force to oppose them."⁶²

Clark assumed that his request would be granted. Regular officers and soldiers were desirous of going on the expedition which was supposed to be aimed against the Indians.⁶³ While awaiting Washington's reply, boats were completed and provisions collected. Notwithstanding the desire of President Reed of Pennsylvania to ren-

⁵⁹ Sparks's *Washington's Writings*, Vol. VII. December 29, 1780, Washington to Brodhead.

⁶⁰ *Letters to Washington*, (Congressional Library), Vol. XLIX, folio 236. May 20, 1781, Clark to Washington. Gibson agreed with Clark in this interpretation.

⁶¹ *Letters to Washington*, Vol. XLIX, folio 236. May 20, 1781.

⁶² *Letters to Washington*, Vol. XLIX, folio 237.

⁶³ *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 51, J, 47.

der all the assistance within his power " volunteers were secured only after the use of extreme measures, due chiefly to the dispute over the boundary." A general draft was finally resorted to." Enforcement of the order in Monongalia County brought on a riot."

Among other problems demanding Clark's attention, besides the suppression of this mob," was the difficulty of securing supplies with a currency which steadily depreciated in value." Findings of the General Court Martial were reviewed by him in which such questions were considered as the legality of drafting, punishment of horse-thieves, and embezzlement of public property."

"President Reed wrote Clark, May 15, 1781: "But from common report we learn, that an expedition under your command is destined against Detroit. We are very sensible of its importance to this State as well as to Virginia and there is no Gentleman in whose abilities and good conduct we have more Confidence, on such an occasion. After this it seems unnecessary to add, that it will give us great Satisfaction if the inhabitants of this State cheerfully concur in it, and we authorize you to declare, that so far from giving offence to this Government, we shall consider their Service with you as highly meritorious. . . . We have had a correspondence with Governor Jefferson on this Subject and explained our Sentiments to him very fully."

"*Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 51, J, 49, 56.

"*Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 30, J, 91. June 12, 1781.

"*Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 51, J, 58, 59.

"*Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 51, J, 59.

"We the subscribers being accessory to a Riot in Suppressing a draught in this County on the 12th. Inst. Being Sensible of our Error and as Assurity of our future good conduct do hereby Engage to serve Ten months in the Continental Service in Case we should be guilty of the like misdemeanor."

"*Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 51, J, 57. Colonel Gibson to Clark. "I am sorry to have to inform you that a set of Rascals have begun to depreciate the Virginia money now in Circulation and some of them have even gone so far as to refuse taking it, in particular Smith the Brewer has refused to take it in payment for Beer, I am much afraid it will reach the Country and of Course retard your proceedings."

"*Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 51, J, 73.

James Thomson convicted of horse theft and desertion was forced to run the gauntlet through the Brigade.

Clark's problems were still more complicated because of a dispatch from Washington by which he was informed that Colonel John Connolly was about to join forces with Sir John Johnson and come by the way of Lake Ontario against Ft. Pitt and other western posts.⁷¹

In the midst of these preparations social life at Ft. Pitt was not lacking. "We have heard", wrote Col. Gibson, "that the Gentlemen and Ladies of Stewart's Crossing's intend paying us a visit tomorrow, in consequence of which a grand Bower is erected in the Orchard, a Barbacue is preparing for tomorrow and a Ball in the Evening at Col. Gibson's Room."⁷² The celebration of the "Anniversary of our Glorious Independence" also received due attention.⁷³

While the necessary supplies had been collected by the first of June at a cost approaching two million dollars, the weeks wore on with Clark still hoping to secure the requisite number of volunteers.⁷⁴ His appeals to Washington, that Col. Gibson's regiment might be permitted to accompany him, failed.⁷⁵ Drafts were of slight avail, and

⁷¹ Connolly, recently exchanged, had proceeded from New York to Quebec. — Sparks's *Washington's Writings*, Vol. VIII, p. 25.

"I doubt Sir," Clark wrote Jefferson relative to Connolly's expedition, "We shall as usual be obliged to play a desperate game this campaign, If we had the 2,000 men just proposed such intelligence would give me pleasure." — *Virginia State Papers*, Vol. II, p. 116.

⁷² *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 51, J, 63. Gibson to Clark, June 26, 1781.

⁷³ *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 51, J, 65.

⁷⁴ *Virginia State Papers*, Vol. II, p. 294, June 2, 1781. Clark in a letter to Jefferson (August 2, 1781) says he had given Col. Harrison £126,581 to enable him to collect stores. £300,000 had already been forwarded to Col. Harrison. Jefferson to Clark, April 20, 1781. — Jefferson's *Letter Book*, 1781.

⁷⁵ *Papers of the Continental Congress, Reports of the Board of War*, 147, Vol. V, pp. 323-325. Washington to the Board of War, June 8, 1781. "As it seemed the public wish, that the expedition of Col. Clark against Detroit should be supported, I gave orders to Col. Brodhead to deliver him a certain quantity of Artillery and Stores and to detach Captain Craig with

finally, early in August, despairing of accomplishing his designs in the face of deep-seated opposition on the part of officials of the western counties of Pennsylvania, he set out for Louisville with four hundred men.¹⁸ This

his Company of Artillery, as there were neither officers nor men of the Virginia Militia acquainted with that kind of Service.

"I recommended also a small detachment of Continental Troops from the 8th. Pennsylvania and 9th. Virginia Regiments but it was at the discretion of the Commandant and in case they could be safely spared. I mentioned that I did not imagine the Command could exceed that of a Major or perhaps a captain. If therefore Col. Brodhead saw that the post could not be defended if such a detachment of Infantry was made, he was justifiable by the spirit of my order in not sending it."

¹⁸ *Virginia State Papers*, Vol. II, p. 345. In a letter to Col. Davis, W. Croghan declared that the reason Clark was able to get so few men at Ft. Pitt was "Owing to a dispute that Subsists here between the Virginians & Pennsylvanians respecting the true bounds of the Latter, and the General being a Virginian was Opposed by the most noted men here of the Pennsylvania party.

"The people here bleam Virginia Very much for making them & their lands (which beyond a shadow of doubt is far out of the true bounds of Pennsylvania) over to Pennsylvania."—*Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 46, J, 67. August 4, 1781.

Clark stated the situation in the following letter to President Reed: "But so far from compleating your wishes that part of them have taken Every Step in their power to frustrate the design (at a time when their neighbors were daily massacred) By confusing the Inhabitants and Every other device their abilities would admit of (although small) are too apt to Effect the minds of such persons as Inhabit this frontier, What put it more in their power was the unsettled Territory. . . . I have endeavored to make myself acquainted with the different persons who appear to be busy in Ruining the sentiments of the Inhabitants and think it my duty as a Citizen and officer to acquaint you with the principals, Believing that you are Impos'd on, as those bodies gain their Influence by opposing Every measure propos'd for the publick good in the Military Department, Strange that such Conduct should have those Effects among any Class of people in this Department: Every Commanding officer has Experienced . . . The Inhabitants on my arrival was so buoyed up at the thought of my carrying out an Expedition that promised them peace, that it has Required all their little artifice to disappoint which is too likely to be the case at present.

"Mr. Marshall of Washington County, County Lt. Colos. Cook and Davis, I believe to be the perpetrators of these Evils I fear this country will feel, After giving you my honour that I am not Influenced by prejudice to point out these Gentlemen, I can assure you that they are persons that will for Ever disgrace this part of the country while in power. . . . but

number was little more than adequate to guard the boats which contained supplies for fully two thousand men. Clark hoped his force would be reënforced in Kentucky and that he might still accomplish his object or at least make some demonstration against the disaffected Indians."

Before setting out he was forced to draw on his supplies in order to relieve the distressed condition of the garrison at Ft. Pitt." Plans were outlined whereby Colonel Gibson was to lead an attack against the Wyandot on September 4, and Clark was at the same time to march from the mouth of the Miami upon the Shawnee villages.

All of the posts anxiously awaited Clark's return. The new fort at the Falls had been completed as he had directed. But for months the garrison had suffered through lack of clothing and food. Early the previous winter Captain Slaughter declared: "My men have no shirts, hats, blankets or Breeches, not having drawn Cloath for that purpose, Shoes, Stockings, Moccasons, so that they are totally unfit for duty."¹⁷ Supplies were no longer obtainable from the Illinois country on credit or for the Continental currency. Without suitable goods, which might be used for exchange for provisions, the distress of the troops at Fort Jefferson became constantly

the anxiety I have for Every part of the Community and the probability of loosing the fair prospect I had of putting an End to the Indian War Occasion me to View Such Characters in a most Dispickable light and to make this Representation. I do not suppose I shall have anything more to do with them, but should it be the case and had power Should take the necessary steps to teach them their duties before I went any farther."¹⁸—*Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 16, S, 54-59.

The force accompanying Clark was composed of Col. Crockett's regiment of Virginia State Troops and Capt. Craig's company of Artillery, together with volunteers and Militia.

¹⁷ *Virginia State Papers*, Vol. II, p. 294.

¹⁸ *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 51, J, 69.

¹⁹ *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 50, J, 79. Letter to Governor Jefferson, December 8, 1780.

more acute. Their melancholy condition in October, 1780, was described by Lieutenant Leonard Helm as follows:

Sitting by Capt. George's fire with a piece of Lightwood and two Ribs of an old Bufloe which is all the meat we have seen this many days, I congratulate your Success against the Shawanahs but this never doubts when that brave Col. Clarke Commands we will know the Loss of him at the Illinois. . . . Excuse Hast as the Lightwood just out and mouth watering for want of the two ribs.⁸⁰

Settlers at this post, harrassed by the bands of Indians and the consequent loss of crops and stock, shared in these distresses. Desertions among the soldiers and inhabitants became more frequent, and finally in June the fort was evacuated.⁸¹

Conditions elsewhere in Kentucky were little, if any better. During the winter and spring a succession of Indian raids well nigh devastated Fayette and Jefferson counties.⁸² Ammunition and provisions were scarce, and the settlers sought the protection of the forts or fled panic stricken to the stronger settlements. "There is scarce one fort in the County but once a month seems on the Eve of breaking up for want of men to defend it", John Todd wrote in April. "Such residents", he continued, "as had most property & Horses to remove their effects have retreated to Lincoln one half of the Remainder are unable to remove. We have no Tax Commissioners in the County & almost nothing to Tax."⁸³ John Floyd declared that Jefferson County had lost forty-seven inhabitants by In-

⁸⁰ *Executive Papers*, July to October, 1780.— Virginia State Library, Letters of October 29, addressed to Col. George Slaughter.

Captain Robert George was then in command at Fort Jefferson.

⁸¹ *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 29, J, 110; *Virginia State Papers*, Vol. II, pp. 313, 315.

⁸² *Virginia State Papers*, Vol. II, pp. 47-49.

⁸³ *Virginia State Papers*, Vol. II, pp. 44, 45. Todd to Jefferson, April 15, 1781.

John Todd was, at the time, County Lieutenant in Fayette County and stationed at Lexington.

dian attacks within three months; that whole families had been sacrificed regardless of age or sex; that their food consisted mainly of wild meat which could be gotten only with great labor and danger; and that the county was not wholly desolate was due to the confidence of the people in Clark's vigilance, enterprise, and military virtue and to their inability to escape.⁵⁴

Dissatisfaction with American rule on the part of the inhabitants of the Illinois villages still prevailed. Avarice, prodigality, and petty strife among the officers were continuous. The situation at Vincennes was similar.

What was to be done by Clark in this crisis? His own force had been greatly depleted and the time of enlistment for the majority of the regular troops at Louisville was about to expire. The loss of Colonel Archibald Lochry and his force of picked men from Western Pennsylvania was a cruel blow to Clark.⁵⁵ Kentucky settlers were waiting impatiently to learn what was to be done for their protection against the assaults of the Indians; for the tribes north of the Ohio were in general revolt against the Americans, and rumors of expeditions to be sent against them from Detroit were continuous.⁵⁶ By order of the Assembly, the expedition directed against Detroit was again postponed.⁵⁷

The three County Lieutenants, together with three

⁵⁴ *Virginia State Papers*, Vol. II, pp. 47-49.

Letter of John Floyd to Thomas Jefferson, April 16, 1781. Floyd was County Lieutenant of Jefferson County.

On April 24 Floyd again wrote Jefferson as follows: "Indigent Widows and Orphans make up a great part of the Inhabitants of this County who are bereaved of their Husbands and Fathers by Savages and left among Strangers without the common necessities of life."

Executive Papers, 1781, Virginia State Library.

⁵⁵ Lochry and one hundred and seven men while descending the Ohio were attacked by the Indians led by Joseph Brant and George Girty. One-third of Lochry's force were killed and the remainder were taken prisoners.

⁵⁶ *Draper Manuscript Collections, Shane Collection*, XVI, 35.

A small tribe of the Kaskaskias were still firm in their allegiance.

⁵⁷ *Virginia State Papers*, Vol. II, pp. 176, 177. June 21, 1781.

other Field officers, constituted a Council called by Clark. At their meeting in Louisville, in placing the situation squarely before them, he appealed for their coöperation in carrying on a general expedition and stated the influence of the Western Department on the Revolution. "But I know, and always knew", he wrote, "that this Department was of more real Service to the United States, than half of all their Frontier Posts, and have proved of great importance by engaging the attention of the Enemy that otherwise would have spread Slaughter & Devastation throughout the more Interior Frontier, depriving them of giving any assistance to our eastern Armies, and more than probable the Alleghany would have been our Boundary at this time." He called attention to the evacuation of Fort Jefferson, the probability of similar action at Vincennes, and the consequent loss of influence over several thousand warriors. Of the two routes which seemed open for an expedition, that by the Miami against the Shawnee and Delawares or up the Wabash, Clark preferred the latter. This would bring them at once against the greatest bodies of Indians; but he was prepared to risk all in a single stroke since their condition as well as his own appeared desperate. Moreover, he saw in this expedition, if successful, the possibility of carrying his operations against Detroit. "I wait as a spectator", he said, "to see what a Country is determined to do for itself when reduced to a state of Desperation; I am ready to lead you on to any Action that has the most distant prospect of Advantage, however daring it may appear to be. . . . Some stroke of this sort might probably save your Country — Another Season. From some late occurrences I am apprehensive this will be the last piece of Service that I shall have it in my power to do for you, in the Military line and could wish it to be as Compleat as possible. My Situation being desperate, similar conduct would be agreeable."

While expressing confidence in Clark in that they were prepared to promise five hundred men, two-thirds of the entire military strength of the three counties, and secure necessary provisions for any expedition he might undertake, the Council advised against any offensive operations or at most favored half heartedly a small expedition up the Miami. In keeping with the recommendation of the Assembly, they advised the construction of forts at intervals along the Ohio, and especially one at the mouth of the Kentucky, which should be well garrisoned.⁸⁸

In a council of the officers of the Department, held on the following day, it was agreed that an expedition which would consist of only seven hundred men, the number of regulars and militia available, was impracticable. While insisting that the garrison at the Falls should be maintained, they likewise recommended that a fort should be built at the mouth of the Kentucky and urged the assembling of a strong force for the reduction of Detroit the next spring.⁸⁹

Numerous appeals were made to the Virginia authorities for assistance. Clark still advocated an advance up the Wabash against the Indian nations among whom the English power was most strongly intrenched. He saw in such a movement, if successful, the capture of Detroit, control of the savages and preservation of the Kentucky settlements, retention of power over "the Illinois both Spanish and American", and ultimate influence on the terms of peace.⁹⁰

The situation was to him full of discouragement, and he declared: "If any assistance to an enterprise is to be given from this quarter; the sooner it is known the better; but I would not wish to trouble your Excellency with

⁸⁸ *Clark Papers*, Virginia State Library.

⁸⁹ *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 51, J, 87.

⁹⁰ *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 51, J, 100.

my remarks. I have lost the object that was one of the principal inducements to my fatigues and transactions for several years past — my chain appears to have run out. I find myself enclosed with few troops, in a trifling fort and shortly expect to bear the insults of those who have for several years been in continued dread of me.”⁸¹

⁸¹ *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 14, S, 64-71. October 1, 1781. Thomas Nelson was then Governor of Virginia.

REMARKS ON THE NEED OF A COMPREHENSIVE FINDING LIST OF WESTERN MANUSCRIPTS

BY CLARENCE W. ALVORD

Mr. Alvord did not present a formal paper but spoke for a few minutes from notes upon the subject that was assigned to him. He pointed out the great difficulty under which our historians labor in collecting material for any given study, since they are never certain when all the sources of information have been exhausted, because so much lies hidden in private or not well known archives. He laid great stress upon the necessity of Western historians being careful to collect all material bearing upon the subject chosen for research and also to criticize the same. Too many errors have been made by trusting everything in print or even material that was still in manuscript, because it was novel, without attempting to apply thereto the methods of scientific criticism. Until historians observe these two principles, the collecting of all available material and the using of sources in a critical manner, our histories of the West will never gain the recognition which is due to the subject.

EFFIGY MOUNDS AND MOSAICS IN THE VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI

BY ARLOW B. STOUT

The subject of this paper pertains to two classes of archaeological monuments characteristic of a considerable portion of the Upper Mississippi Valley, an area which has been designated by Thomas¹ as the Dakotan District. It is considered that this area includes North Dakota, South Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, adjoining portions of Canada and the northern portions of Iowa and Illinois. The types of monuments characteristic of this area are: (1) boulder mosaics; (2) effigy mounds; (3) linear or elongated mounds; and (4) connected series of conical mounds and long rows of conicals.

Monuments of the first class named above consist of stones, or in some cases of buffalo bones, arranged on the surface of the ground in various geometric figures and also in the form of various animals. They are reported to be most numerous in the Dakotas and to extend in range of distribution into the surrounding States. The literature on this class of remains is not extensive and can briefly be summarized.

Todd gives diagrams of a turtle and a snake, both located in South Dakota; and he further states that "examination over all southeastern Dakota has failed to discover any other similar representations of animals." He describes rectangular figures, a cross of boulders, and rows of buffalo bones. To all these he applied the term "boulder mosaics".²

¹ Thomas's *Report on the Mound Explorations of the Bureau of Ethnology* in the *Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 35.

² Todd's *Boulder Mosaics in Dakota* in *The American Naturalist*, Vol. XX, No. 1, January, 1886, pp. 1-4.

Lewis figures two outlines representing the human form, one of a snake (the same one figured by Todd) and one of a turtle, all of which were found in South Dakota.³ He also describes squares and circles, and mentions two other figures of animals. Later he describes a number of variously arranged boulder circles located in Linn County, Iowa; and in the same paper he figures an outline representing a buffalo situated in Murray County, Minnesota.⁴ He mentions three other outlines of animals and refers to a report that a boulder outline of a man once existed near Buffalo, Minnesota.

The field work on this phase of archaeology as given in the *Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* consisted only in visiting some of the outlines described by the above named writers. The turtle mosaic figured by Lewis is described in the *Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* and again in the *Handbook of American Indians*, Vol. I, p. 163.

Simms mentions three figures of the human form and gives a plat of one.⁵ These were located near Pryor, Montana.

Will gives a plat of a turtle found by him in the north-western part of South Dakota.⁶

Peet and other writers add no new data but give figures and descriptions already cited.

An analysis of this literature reveals the fact that while numerous mosaics of various geometrical designs are known, there have been reported but seventeen mosa-

³ Lewis's *Stone Monuments in Southern Dakota* in *The American Anthropologist*, Vol. II, No. 2, April, 1889, pp. 159-164.

⁴ Lewis's *Stone Monuments in Northwestern Iowa and Southwestern Minnesota* in *The American Anthropologist*, Vol. III, No. 3, July, 1890, pp. 269-274.

⁵ *The American Anthropologist*, Vol. V, 1903, pp. 374, 375.

⁶ Will's *Some Observations Made in Northwestern South Dakota* in *The American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. II, No. 2, April, 1909, pp. 257-265.

ies representing animals. Of these but eight are well described and figured. One is a buffalo, one a snake, three are turtles, and three are of the human form.⁷

To this list is to be added a boulder mosaic which was found on the Upper Missouri during the summer of 1909 by a party under the direction of Dr. O. G. Libby of the North Dakota Historical Society. The figure is that of a turtle and is formed of one hundred and eighty-three stones which vary in size from a diameter of a few inches to slightly more than a foot. The outline is remarkably lifelike. The limbs and head are extended in the attitude of crawling. The tail is slightly curved. A single row of stones extends through the body in the direction of the long axis. The largest stones are in the neck and at the juncture of the fore limbs with the body. The length from tip of head to tip of tail is nineteen feet. At a distance of twenty feet from the mosaic a small stone cairn was situated, and one mile distant was a group of some thirty stone circles marking the tepee sites of a former Indian village.

It should be stated that the ground occupied by this mosaic was carefully staked out into two foot squares and the stones constituting the outline numbered accordingly and then removed to the capitol grounds at Bismark where the outline was reconstructed with each stone in its exact relative position and the whole figure in the

⁷ Since this paper was read Mr. Robert F. Gilder of Omaha, Nebraska, supplied the writer with a drawing of a large boulder mosaic which is considered to represent a man and which was located in eastern Wyoming by the Geological Expedition of Hon. Charles Morrill of the University of Nebraska. Quoting from a letter, Mr. Gilder states: "I have seen small piles of boulders a foot in height on a plains butte a mile southwest from None Bar ranch house, Rawhide Buttes, Wyoming, which extended some score of yards, serpentine in form. I believe there are other boulder forms there, but the territory is so vast and the water so scarce that it is next to impossible to cover the territory which should be minutely explored."

See also Gilder's *The "Spanish Diggings"*, in *Putnam's Monthly*, Vol. II, No. 3, 1907, p. 233.

same position relative to the points of the compass that it had in its original location. According to Mr. C. F. Smith of Sanger, who first observed this mosaic some years ago, there were three other mosaics in the vicinity. One represented a snake, one a cray fish, and the other a turtle. These, however, have unfortunately been destroyed.

From the data at hand it appears that boulder mosaics are characteristic of the western portion of the so-called Dakotan District and that they are not found associated in the same groups with effigy or linear earth works.

We may now consider effigy mounds. These are dirt cameos built in the form of various animals, or in some cases possibly representing inanimate subjects. Some of the animals most clearly represented are the turtle, deer, mink, panther, bear, various types of birds, and in two cases the human figure. Some are rather crude in outline but the greater number are well formed and of good proportions. There is some degree of exaggeration in the extenuated tails of many of the turtle and panther effigies, but for a large number of effigies the art displayed is clearly realistic.

This is especially shown in the fact that the animal is usually represented as it is most naturally observed. The turtle, frog, and lizard-like effigies are built with limbs on each side of the body. Thus the animal is represented as it appears when one looks down on it. Birds of the air are represented as they appear when flying overhead. Sometimes the bill is shown as if the head were turned to one side. The forked tail and the curved wings are present in some types. Land animals, as the deer, panther, bear and mink, are represented in profile, which is the way they appear to the eye. Usually the two fore limbs and the two hind limbs are respectively united.

In a few cases, however, all four limbs are shown in the profile.

In size these mounds vary. The average is about two and one-half or three feet in height. Some are now quite low and flattened. The highest known to the writer is nearly six feet in height. The bear effigies vary from thirty-nine to eighty-two feet in length and the birds with wings fully extended range from one hundred and twenty-five to six hundred and twenty-four feet in wing extent. This illustrates the general range in size.

These effigies are in most cases grouped with linear mounds, conical mounds, and other forms; and the groups are associated with village sites, corn fields, and Indian trails. In an individual group of mounds several types of effigies may be present and there may be duplicates of the same type.

In the arrangement of the mounds constituting a group no uniform plan was followed. The mounds seem to be grouped to suit the natural topography although there is a tendency for large groups to be strung out in rows. The effigies seem to bear as a rule no relation to one another, although in some cases there is an apparent relationship. For example, the three birds constituting the Lower Dells Group in Sauk County^{*} are represented as flying in unison. The bears in several groups seem to be following in a line. This unity of action represented in the effigies of the same group is not the rule.

The abundance of mounds and the proportional number of the various types may be illustrated with data from two typical areas selected from the midst of the effigy bearing region. In seven townships of Sauk County, Wisconsin, the writer located seven hundred and thirty-four mounds. About fifty miles southeast of Sauk County lies Lake Koshkonong, with a water surface of about

^{*} Stout's *Summary of the Archaeology of Eastern Sauk County in The Wisconsin Archeologist*, Vol. V, No. 2, p. 234.

thirteen square miles. The following table shows the principal facts in the comparison of these two areas:

	Area in	Total	Coni-	Effi-	Bear	Mink	Bird	Turtle
	sq. mi.	mounds	calcs	gies				
Sauk Co. Area	200	654	337	183	47	12	43	0
Koshkonong "	31	481	309	42	0	1	10	9

It is to be noted that the effigies are less numerous than the conicals. This is true of any given area. The character of the effigies for the two areas is different. The bear type is abundant in Sauk County but absent at Lake Koshkonong. Twelve mink are found in Sauk County and but one at Lake Koshkonong. The forty-three birds in Sauk County have wings fully extended, while most of those at Lake Koshkonong are of a very different type with drooping wings. The nine turtle mounds have no counterparts in Sauk County. More complete comparisons with figures will be found in the *Wisconsin Archeologist*, Vol. V, No. 2 and Vol. VII, No. 2.

This comparison illustrates the fact that the dominant types of various areas are different. Peet has divided the effigy bearing area into seven clan habitats on the basis of the preponderance of one type of effigy.* While this division is based on incomplete data it indicates what will be shown if a complete census is ever made.

Any treatment of effigies should not be concluded without a brief mention of the famous Man Mound at Baraboo, Wisconsin. In the early accounts of Wisconsin antiquities, and in some later writings, it was stated that there are numerous mounds representing the human figure; yet the surveys of these mounds show that the upper limbs are generally greatly disproportionate to those of the human form and that in many cases there is no sug-

* Peet's *The Clan Centers and Clan Habitat of the Effigy Builders* in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. VIII, p. 299.

gestion of lower limbs. In the light of present knowledge such mounds are considered to be effigies of birds, and the conclusion is that there have been but two mounds reported with outlines that are definitely true to those of the human figure. One of these has been leveled by cultivation, but fortunately there exists a careful survey made before the mound was injured. The other man mound has been preserved for all future time. Both of these mounds were located in Sauk County near the center of the effigy bearing area. For complete descriptions of these remarkable mounds with the history of the preservation of the one at Baraboo those who are interested are referred to Vol. V, No. 2, and Vol. VII, No. 4 of the *Wisconsin Archeologist*.

Associated with effigy mounds at certain locations was a limited number of earth-works known as intaglios. In construction of these the dirt was dug away and the form of the animal represented in the excavation—a method which is the reverse of true mound construction. But eleven intaglios have been reported, and all of these but one have been destroyed. Efforts are now being made to preserve the remaining example of this class of earth-works.

In distribution the effigy mounds are almost exclusively limited to the southern half of Wisconsin. A few are found in adjoining portions of Illinois, Iowa, and Minnesota. The noted serpent mound and three other mounds in Ohio are undoubtedly effigies. Unsubstantiated reports mention effigies in the bad lands of Dakota and at least one is found in Canada. Two bird shaped mounds constructed entirely of white quartz have been described from Georgia.¹⁰ These resemble the earth mounds of Wisconsin except that they are built entirely of stone. The boulder mosaics of the West are simpler in construc-

¹⁰ Jones's *Aboriginal Structures in Georgia* in the *Smithsonian Report*, 1877, p. 278.

tion in that they nearly always consist of the figure in outline.

The mounds thus far considered as effigies are those that clearly represent some animal, anomalous or recognizable. There are, however, various types of linear mounds and various combinations of conical and linear forms that may well be symbolic of inanimate things or possibly conventionalized effigies.

The following are some of the principal classes of these linear-like mounds. The pure linear types are straight wall-like mounds of uniform width and height. They are usually about two and one-half feet high and from ten to twenty feet wide. Some are so short that they approach the conical mound while the longest are about nine hundred feet in length. That these were not built for defensive purposes is evident from their position and arrangement. They bear no strong resemblance to any animal — not even to a snake.

The straight, pointed linear is usually of considerable length and differs from the pure linear in having one end tapering to a long drawn out point. Variations from these types are found. The pointed end may be bent to one side at an angle. Club shaped linears are common. Kidney shaped linears are found. The pure linear and the pointed linear are some times rounded and enlarged at one end, and hence might be considered to approximate the appearance of a snake stretched out straight. Other forms shade with various irregularities into anomalous effigies.

Throughout the Wisconsin region of pure effigies these various types of linear-like mounds are mingled in the mound groups; and observations in the field from purely an archaeological point of view have convinced the writer that these linears of Wisconsin are in reality effigy mounds erected with symbolic meaning.

Certain types of elongated mounds, however, ex-

tend westward into Minnesota and Manitoba beyond the limits of the pure effigy type. No adequate study has been made of the range and distribution of the types of linears and effigies. What is most needed in the archaeological study of this Dakotan Region is a complete systematic field survey, not of isolated areas here and there, but of the entire region. The facts gathered in the field studies already made show that the various classes of earth-works found in the so-called Dakotan District are not characteristic of the area as a whole. Boulder mosaics are confined to the western portion and are not found intermingled with effigies or linears. Effigies proper are chiefly found in southern Wisconsin. Types of linears extend into Minnesota beyond the range of pure effigies.

It is needless to present here any discussion concerning the accumulation of historic, ethnological, and archaeological evidence which firmly establishes the fact that the mound builders and the Indians were one and the same people.

Concerning the significance of these various classes of monuments the writer can make no contribution to the already rather voluminous literature on the subject. The most direct knowledge concerning the purposes of construction is connected with the boulder outlines of the human form reported by Lewis and Simms. These, it appears, were erected in connection with the mode of punishment sometimes administered to an unfaithful squaw. According to a legend of the Dakotas the snake reported by Lewis was built to commemorate a great war speech. There is no such direct evidence pertaining to the turtle and buffalo mosaics nor to the various outlines of geometric design. The effigy mounds of Wisconsin are now generally considered to have been erected as totems significant to the clan system of organization.

Boulder mosaics and effigy mounds with associated

forms are unique features of American archaeology and are confined with few exceptions to the Upper Mississippi Valley.

[The various points concerning mound distribution, arrangement in groups, and the various types of boulder mosaics and effigies were shown by the reader of the paper by means of lantern slides.—EDITOR.]

THE PASSING OF THE DELAWARE NATION

BY JAMES MOONEY

In 1877 a distinguished writer upon ethnologic subjects read before a meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science a paper intended to prove that, notwithstanding nearly four centuries of varied misfortune consequent upon the advent of the white man, our native Indian had not only held his own in point of numbers, but was actually increasing. In spite of the looseness of argument plainly evident on examination of the paper, and in spite of the patent fact that the aboriginal population of whole States has been wiped out and scores of tribes have disappeared without a survivor within the historic period, the doctrine has found acceptance with philanthropists, missionaries, and officials who, being unacquainted with the Indian past, are loath to believe that the efforts of so many years have produced so little result in the preservation of the race.

In connection with other duties in the Bureau of American Ethnology the author has for several years been conducting a systematic investigation of the past and present number of the Indian race within the whole territory north of Mexico, including the United States proper, British America, Alaska, Greenland, and the Arctic regions. For this purpose the whole territory has been mapped out into fifteen great geographic sections, as New England, Central States, Northern Plains, Southern Plains, etc., each of which has been studied separately in the light of all the information available from documentary sources, explorers' narratives, field research, and personal knowledge of Indian habits and conditions.

The completed work will appear as a Bureau publication.

The result, which is believed to be within ten per cent of correctness, shows a decrease of approximately two-thirds over the whole region, with probably not half a dozen tribes in all which have held their own, even these exceptions being due more to incorporation of captives and broken tribes than to natural increase. Most of the tribes, moreover, have now a large percentage of mixed-bloods, whereas the original Indian was a full-blood. If the percentage of white blood, which in some cases is with every member of the tribe, could be segregated, the Indian proportion would probably not be three-fourths for the whole region.

As a typical illustration of the shifting fortunes and steady decline of our native tribes I have selected the historic Delawares, known to all of us from schoolboy days, prominent in early wars and treaties, particularly in the central region, and occupants at various times in their westward march of a dozen States from New York to Texas.

The Lenape or Delaware confederacy originally held all of New Jersey; portions of southeastern New York, including the west bank of the Hudson River below the Catskills, with the headwaters of the Delaware; the whole Delaware River basin in eastern Pennsylvania; and perhaps half of Delaware—a total area of about 25,000 square miles. It consisted of three main tribes—Munsee, Unami, and Unalachtgo—with numerous bands or subtribes and over thirty clans.

The Munsee, who were so strongly differentiated by dialect and other characteristics as frequently to be classed as a distinct people, held the northern frontier, including most of the lower west Hudson and the upper Delaware down to the junction of the Lehigh. The Unami held the middle Delaware, nearly all of New Jersey, and a small portion of the lower Hudson. They disappeared



early, being largely merged with the next division. The Unalachtgo held the west bank of the lower Delaware, chiefly within the State of the same name, but as early as 1634 had almost entirely removed to the east side (New Jersey) to escape the attacks of the Conestoga or Susquehanna.

Owing to the multiplicity of the Delaware subdivisions and their distribution over territories claimed by three distinct European nations — Dutch, Swedish, and English — we have no estimate of their population in the earlier period, or until about a century and a half after the first white occupation, when many of their bands had already become extinct by disease, dissipation, and local wars. The modern tribal name of "Delaware" was but little used until after 1700. The earlier colonists commonly designated the various bands by local names, while the French grouped Delaware, Mahican, Wappinger, and southern New England tribes without distinction under the collective term of "Loups", "Wolves". There is a constant confounding of Delaware, Mahican, and Wappinger, while the Munsee are sometimes included with the Delaware estimates and as often treated as a distinct tribe.

Although Hudson's visit in 1609 is usually described as the beginning of regular intercourse with the Indians of this region, this is incorrect, as Dutch traders had built shelter forts and established a regular trade on both the Hudson and Delaware rivers as early as 1598.¹

From the number of their sub-tribes and fortified "castles" in the early Dutch period, from their strength shown in the Esopus wars, and from their historic persistence as a people, it is probable that the Munsee numbered originally at least 1200 souls, most of whom were concentrated about the lower Hudson. The great body

¹ *Condition of New Netherland, 1644*, in *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. I, p. 149.

of the other two main divisions, when first known, was within the limits of New Jersey. Of these Evelin, our first authority, writing about 1640 with several years' knowledge of the country, names eight subtribes on the east side of the Delaware River below Trenton Falls, with a total of about 940 warriors, besides another of which no estimate is given, but which we may assume would bring the total up to about 1000 warriors or 4000 souls for this section. Another writer in 1648, after noting Evelin's statement, says that "besides" those named by him there were at least 1200 (warriors) subject to the Baritan sub-chief in eastern New Jersey, with two other small bands along the east shore of about forty men each, and a third "reduced" (probably by smallpox) to fourteen men.² This would give the bands then within New Jersey — including perhaps a part of the Munsee — from about 2200 to 2300 warriors. As there were other small bands on the west side of the river between Philadelphia and Wilmington,³ we may probably add at least one hundred warriors to this total. Adding to these the Munsee, and allowing for considerable exaggeration in the Baritan estimate, we shall have a total about the years 1640-1648 of at least 2500 warriors or about 10,000 souls, on what proves to be the average of one able warrior to four persons. As before this, one great smallpox visitation, if not two, had already swept the Delaware country; as they had for some years been carrying on a losing war with the Conestoga, who in 1633 were reported to have recently burnt a Delaware town and massacred "ninety men" besides others;⁴ and as liquor and dissipation had also been at work among them for a generation, we can hardly escape the conclusion that the Delaware confederacy in

² Authors quoted in Smith's *New Jersey*, pp. 29-31, 1765, reprint 1890.

³ Brinton's *Walam Olum*, pp. 37, 38, 1885.

⁴ De Vries, 1655, in *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, 2nd Series, Vol. III, p. 30, 1857.

1600 numbered close to 12,000 souls. This would accord with the extent of their territory, the large number of their clans and sub-divisions, and their dominant position among the Algonkian tribes.

It is known that smallpox came to the Indians from the whites and it has proven the greatest single factor in the destruction of the native race. As early as 1677 the Delawares accused the whites of having brought the smallpox among them, and in a council at Burlington, New Jersey, their speaker stated that it had already ravaged the tribe three times—in his grandfather's time, in his father's time, and in his own time.⁵ One of these visitations was probably that of 1637-1638, which swept all the region from the Chesapeake Bay to Lake Huron. Another was probably the same noted as ravaging the Conestoga in 1661-1663. Of the other, apparently about 1677, there seems no other record. Van der Donck, writing in 1653 before any except the earliest of these dates, speaking of the tribes of the Hudson and Delaware regions, says that the Indians affirmed that they had already lost nine-tenths of their number by smallpox since the coming of the whites. Lawson in 1701 says nearly the same of the Carolina tribes. Evidence accumulates that the eastern tribes were repeatedly decimated by smallpox epidemics of which there is no record, owing to the fact that the Indian country was so generally unknown.

The Munsee undoubtedly suffered heavily by these epidemics; but their steady decline dates from the "Esopus wars" with the Dutch, 1659-1664. Wappinger, Munsee, and a part of the Unami were allies in these wars, but the principal sufferers were the "Esopus" or Munsee bands of the lower Hudson, who by treaty were obliged to surrender their best lands and fortified "castles" on the river, and fell back upon the Delaware. As usual in these colonial Indian wars, the soldiers were

⁵ Quoted in Smith's *New Jersey*, 1765, p. 100, reprint 1890.

promised "all the barbarians who are captured" as slaves.⁶ As evidence of the destruction wrought by this war we note that one Munsee subtribe was reported as reduced to perhaps sixty souls; on one battle field, some days afterward, the Dutch found nine pits of dead bodies buried, besides other bodies scattered about; while the confederated warriors engaged, estimated at four hundred or five hundred in 1659, were reported at only two hundred in 1663, of whom one hundred and ten were Munsee. In all these wars the greatest destruction was by starvation and exposure among the homeless fugitives. In 1689, at the outbreak of King William's War, the Munsee, Mahican, and Wappinger still remaining along the lower Hudson, and known collectively as River Indians, were officially reported at 250 warriors or perhaps 1000 souls. By this war, in which they served on the English side, and by another smallpox epidemic in 1690, they had been reduced to ninety warriors in 1698.⁷ This does not include the Mahican of the Massachusetts border, the New Jersey bands of Delawares, or the main body of the Munsee, already removed to the upper Delaware River. In 1773 we hear of them again in connection with other broken tribes of eastern New York, after which they gradually removed to the west or dwindled to extinction.

The Moravian mission established among the Mahican at Shekomeko, New York, in 1740 became predominantly a mission of Munsee after its removal to Pennsylvania six years later. At their best the several villages comprising this mission may have had a combined population of about 450 souls, chiefly Munsee Delawares. Repeated removals, smallpox, and massacre reduced them within fifty years to about 200, the heaviest blow being the dastardly massacre at Gnadenhuetten, Ohio, in 1782,

⁶ *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. XIII, p. 280.

⁷ *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. III, pp. 778, 808; Vol. IV, p. 337.

when ninety-six men, women, and children were slaughtered by border outlaws.⁸ Without detailing their tedious wanderings, their temporary halts, and various combinations with other tribes and broken bands, in Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Canada, we may state that the Munsee who still keep their existence and identity are now in four bands, namely: (a) "Moravians of the Thames", Ontario, Canada, numbering 273 in 1875 and 289 in 1908; (b) "Munsees of the Thames", in the same neighborhood, numbering 124 in 1875 and 112 in 1908; (c) "Delawares", chiefly Munsee, incorporated with the Seneca since before the Revolution and now resident on the Six Nations reserve, Ontario, numbering 169 in 1908; (d) "Munsee or Christian Indians", attached to the Great Nemaha agency, Kansas, and reduced from 106 in 1846 to 57 in 1903.

The New Jersey Delawares decreased rapidly by smallpox, wars, liquor, and emigration to the West. In 1671 they were estimated at about 1000 warriors or perhaps 4000 souls.⁹ In 1721 the survivors were reported to be "but few". In 1749 Kalm, commenting on their disappearance, says that while smallpox had destroyed incredible numbers, brandy had killed most of them. From 1671 to 1758, or as long as the colony had an Indian problem, we find constant complaints by the chiefs of the damage done their people by liquor and constant enactments to prevent it. One chief in 1677 complained that seven score of his band had been killed by it, apparently in drunken fights. Four years later another chief says sixty of his people had been stabbed in drunken fights within three years.¹⁰ By the end of 1703 they had sold practically all their lands in West Jersey. By treaty at

⁸ See Loskiel's *Moravian Missions*.

⁹ Reference in Brinton's *Walam Olum*, p. 42.

¹⁰ Smith's *New Jersey*, p. 102; *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. XIII, p. 551.

Easton, Pennsylvania, in 1758, the expatriated Delawares sold all their remaining claims within the State. For those remaining within the State, estimated at about 300 souls, a tract was reserved at Brothertown in Burlington County. In 1765 only about eighty were left. In 1802 these joined the Stockbridge remnant (Mahican) in New York. In 1822 they removed to Green Bay, Wisconsin. In 1839, being then less than forty in number, they removed with some Stockbridge and Munsee to Kansas. In 1875 they were officially believed to be extinct.

From the period of first displacement there was never a time when the whole Delaware nation constituted one compact body occupying the same territory, and consequently no estimates of number include the whole tribe. We know more of the main body which carried the distinctive name and tribal organization and was prominent in all border wars from 1754 to 1815, suffering proportionately in territory, property, and loss of life. With this main body also were associated, and finally incorporated, most of the remnant of the Nanticoke and Conoy (Piscataway) and a considerable part of the Mahican.

Removing from the Delaware River to the Susquehanna in 1742, the main body of the Delawares had pushed on into Ohio by the opening of the French and Indian war. In 1748 they suffered further reduction by smallpox and famine.¹¹ In November, 1763, after nine years of continuous war, they were estimated by Sir William Johnson at six hundred warriors or perhaps 2400 souls. The Conoy and Nanticoke are separately noted. Hutchins' estimate in 1764 and an anonymous trader in 1778 give them the same,¹² but a table in Hutchins' *Topographical Description*, 1788, gives the Delawares of the Ohio region six hundred warriors, Delawares and Munsee about Ti-

¹¹*Zeisberger Journal*, 1748, in *Pennsylvania Magazine*, Vol. XVI, pp. 430-432.

¹²*Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes*, Vol. III, p. 555

oga, Pennsylvania, on the Susquehanna, one hundred and fifty warriors each, making nine hundred warriors or about 3600 souls in all. Those last are probably the same noted elsewhere as having joined the Seneca, and now on the Six Nation Reserve in Canada. Besides these, Hutchins gives Nanticoke, Mahican, and Conoy, on the east branch of Susquehanna, about Chenango, New York, respectively one hundred, one hundred, and thirty warriors, as also another considerable body of Mahican with the Wyandot in Ohio. Most or all of these were afterward fused with the Delawares. It is probable that all the scattered bands of the Delaware nation would total about 4000 souls at the outbreak of the Revolution, exclusive of the remnant of tribes afterward incorporated.

With the close of the Revolutionary period a part of the more determined hostile element began to cross the Mississippi to escape the neighborhood of the Americans. Among these about twelve hundred Shawnee and about six hundred Delawares (Porter) removed in 1793 to lands in southern Missouri by permission of the Spanish government. Thence they drifted into Arkansas and Texas until finally reunited with the main body of the tribes in Kansas. In 1816 the main body of united Delawares, Munsee, Mahican and Nanticoke, living chiefly in five villages in Indiana, were reported by an educated chief to number from eight hundred to one thousand,¹⁸ which is probably about correct. Two years later they sold out and joined the earlier emigrants in Missouri. In 1822 Morse gives eighteen hundred as living in Missouri, with eighty more still in Ohio. This would make the total for all the scattered bands in this country and Canada in 1822 about two thousand three hundred souls.

At this time the tribes of the central region were at the lowest point yet reached, in consequence of the losses by the War of 1812 and the flood of dissipation intro-

¹⁸ Morse's *Report*, 1822, Appendix, pp. 109, 110.

duced through the traders following its close. The missionary McCoy¹⁴ is full of details of wholesale and almost universal drunkenness, drunken killings, starvation and deaths by exposure. Schoolcraft's official report for 1838¹⁵ confirms every statement.

By treaties in 1829 both the Delawares in Missouri and the small band in Ohio agreed to remove to a reservation in Kansas. In 1845 their agent reported on the reservation 1,039 Delawares; two hundred eight "Christian Indians" and Delawares, who had joined them from the Stockbridge reservation, Wisconsin, in 1837-1839; and about sixty Stockbridges from the same place. As these particular Stockbridges were chiefly of Delaware origin we may consider the whole body as of the Delaware tribe, making a total of about thirteen hundred then on the Kansas reservation. Besides these a considerable number were drifting about the southern plains and in the remote West, adventurous rovers, whose exact number was unknown, although they were known to be constantly decreasing from losses in encounters with the wild tribes. Thus the official Indian Report for 1845 notes the extermination of a party of sixteen Delaware hunters in Minnesota by the Sioux, and another party of fifteen by Sioux and Cheyenne in western Kansas, both within two years, besides single killings by the same enemies. We may be sure they had suffered in about the same proportion by the Osage while in Missouri.

In 1851 their agent reports the Delawares proper as given to drunkenness and dissipation, and the "Christian Indians" and Stockbridges very much the same, in spite of more than a century of missionary effort. The number of the Delawares is not given, but the others are reported at about one hundred forty and twenty-five respectively, a total of one hundred sixty-five as

¹⁴ *History Baptist Missions*, 1840.

¹⁵ Schoolcraft in *Indian Report*, 1838.

against about two hundred sixty-eight reported six years before. The deaths by "cholera, drunkenness and other diseases" within the past two months among the Delawares and associated tribes and neighboring Shawnee, had been about seventy-two in a total population of less than two thousand. In the next year we are told that the Delawares "are steadily diminishing", and in 1853 it is officially reported that a majority are drunkards, with the usual accompanying vices, the same being true also of the other immigrant tribes.

In 1860 the number of Delawares upon the reservation in Kansas was officially reported at one thousand and eight, besides about two hundred others reported with various tribes in the Indian Territory, being in part those now attached to the Wichita agency. In 1862 those upon the reservation had been increased by accessions from the South and by adoptions to 1,085. In spite of wholesale enlistment in the Union army during the Civil War and a slight smallpox visitation in 1864 they numbered 1,065 in 1866. In the winter of 1867-1868 they removed to the Indian Territory and were formally incorporated with the Cherokee Nation, where a year later (July 1, 1869) they numbered 1,005, having lost nearly fifty by the removal. In 1890 they were officially reported at only seven hundred fifty-four, those with the Wichita being ninety-five.¹⁶ No separate report of those incorporated with the Cherokee is now made, but their present number is about eight hundred and eighty, including all degrees of mixture.

The Delawares attached to the Wichita agency in western Oklahoma are chiefly the representatives of those who drifted from Missouri into what was then Spanish Texas as early at least as 1820, and of others who refused to remove from Missouri to Kansas under the treaty of 1829. In consequence of visiting back and forth with

¹⁶ *Extra Census Bulletin, The Five Civilized Tribes*, 44, 1894.

the main body the number reported varied greatly in the earlier years. During the Civil War they fled, with the Caddo and others, to Kansas, whence they returned in 1867 to the number of ninety-eight, having lost considerably by cholera on the march. In 1868 they were reported at only seventy-six, in 1880 at seventy-eight, and in 1885 at seventy-one. In 1890 however they were reported at ninety-five, the increase being probably due to adoptions and the return of absentees in anticipation of treaty allotment benefits. Being now officially incorporated with the Wichita, they are not separately reported, but there is probably no material change since.

The present distribution of the Delawares is as follows: incorporated with Cherokee Nation, Oklahoma, about eight hundred and eighty; incorporated with Wichita, Oklahoma, about ninety-five; Munsee or Christian, united with a small band of Chippewa, Great Nemaha agency, Kansas, about fifty-seven; Moravians of the Thames, Ontario, about two hundred eighty-nine; Munsee of the Thames, Ontario, about one hundred and twelve; incorporated with Six Nations, Ontario, about one hundred sixty-nine; total about sixteen hundred.

Thus the Delaware nation, recognized as "Grandfather" by all the tribes of Algonkian lineage, and prominent in border history from the landing of Hudson to the close of the War of 1812, has been pushed steadily back from the Atlantic seaboard to the Ohio Valley, across the lakes into Canada, and across the Mississippi into the western plains, losing by every move, until it is reduced to one-seventh of its original number, even after having absorbed practically all that remained of three other wasted tribes, and including all degrees of white admixture. Even the historic name is no longer officially recognized.

INDIAN NAMES IN HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

By JOHN R. SWANTON

Every student who has had to deal with historical manuscripts or early publications is aware of the difficulties which are often encountered in identifying proper names. The degree of difficulty varies greatly, however, depending in the first place on the legibility of the handwriting and the state of the paper or parchment used, and secondly upon the familiarity or otherwise of the persons or places mentioned. In this second particular it is evident that Indian names are at a decided disadvantage, since those from European sources are either already in print or else are drawn from languages to which the student is somewhat accustomed. It therefore happens that even garbled or illiterate forms of European names can usually be identified, at least with the help of the context in which they occur; while Indian names, as well as those from most of the languages of the less civilized parts of the old world, must often be transcribed in the dark, as a string of guesses. Yet to the ethnologist this string of apparently meaningless letters may be of first importance, and the proper transcription of them may mean the settlement of some knotty question which has no other solution, the tribe in question being long extinct or having lost all memory of its early history.

Although about fifty-five stock languages were anciently spoken in that part of America north of Mexico, and about two hundred in the entire western continent, embracing perhaps a thousand dialects each with its own system of phonetics or phonetic peculiarities, certain features were very widely spread and may be encountered

in words from almost every part of the continent. Some of these are found in European languages, but the greater part are wanting, at least in those languages from which most of our early information regarding the American Indians is drawn, and their place is usually supplied by some clumsy combination of letters which means little to a person not familiar with the Indian original. The velar spirant, equivalent to German *ch* and spanish *j*, is one of these common Indian sounds. This the English or French writer is apt to render *h*, particularly at the beginning of words or syllables, and sometimes, especially at the end of a word or syllable, as *k*. Occasionally we also find *kh* or *gh*. The palatal and antepalatal aspirates of the same series also occur, like the *ch* in German *ich*; and these are naturally rendered in German and Spanish in the same way as the velar sound, although Spaniards also use *x* and *g* for all three. In English the same devices may be employed as for the velar spirant, although the use of *h* becomes more frequent and rarely we find *s*. Corresponding to the velar spirant, Indian languages also have velar sonants and surds which the European tries to reproduce by the combination *kh* and *gh*, though sometimes satisfied with *k* and *g*. A peculiar and widespread Indian sound is a spirant *l*, popularly rendered by the combination of letters *thl*, but also by *lth*, *hl*, *tl*, *kl*, or even simple *t* or *l* depending on the accuracy of the recorder's ear. The Indian choked stops, *t'*, *k'*, *p'*, and *tc'* (or *ts'*), are often indicated by the corresponding sonants *d*, *g*, *b*, *dj* (or *j*), and *dz* (or *ds*), sometimes followed by *h*, a vowel, or a semivowel, to mark the catch or pause. With vowels there is naturally not so much difficulty, the principle being brought about by the differences between English and continental vowel values. By a speaker of English the continental or broad *a* is indicated by placing *h* or *r* immediately after the vowel *a*, while in general short vowel sounds are followed by a doubled consonant and

long ones may be expressed by a doubling of the vowel. I have noted the disadvantages under which speakers of English and French labor in recording Indian words owing to the lack of the sound represented by German *ch* and Spanish *j*; but in other respects English is more fortunate. The semivowel *w* must be expressed in ordinary French by two letters, usually *ou*, as Ouacha for Washa, and Ouachita for Washita, and in Spanish by the awkward consonant-vowel combination *gu* followed by another vowel. It thus happens that the Wateree tribe of South Carolina becomes in Spanish almost unrecognizable under the spelling Guatari, and the Georgia mission Guale appears in English as Wallie. The attempts of Spanish writers to make up for the want of a sound similar to English *sh* have, owing to certain Spanish orthographic peculiarities, led to results even more confusing. The letter *x* in Spanish anciently possessed two values, one a *ks* sound, the other a sound similar to German *ch*, and by Spanish American writers on account of this first value it has generally been pressed into service to indicate *sh* in Indian. In later Spanish, however, *j* was substituted for *x* for the second value; but many students unfamiliar with the dual duty of *x* have assumed German *ch* wherever it occurs, and in accordance with a common treatment of this sound when adapted to English it has been rendered in the latter language by *h*. In some cases the ancient use of *i* for *j* has also been extended to these words, and *i* in turn has been rewritten *y*, while persons better informed regarding the original have perhaps furnished forms in *s* or *ch*. Thus we find the following as synonyms of the names of a certain Texas and New Mexican tribe taken at first or second hand from Spanish sources: Humano, Iumano, Jumano, Sumano (or Sumana), Umano, Xumano (or Xumana), and Yumano; while others from French sources, where *ch* does duty for our *sh*, are Chouman, Choumenes, etc., showing that the

nearest English equivalent of the Indian would be Shooman.

Even when the record of an Indian name is not complicated by transmission through a European language other than English it may easily be seen what great variations in spelling the differences in hearing Indian sounds may bring about, so that in time it may be difficult to recognize them as derived from one original, and by the time the typesetter has finished his deadly work the despair of the ethnologist may easily be imagined. To illustrate the possibilities in this line it may be stated that Chippewa has been spelled in ninety-four different ways; Abnaki in ninety-nine, Cayuga in upwards of a hundred; and Mohawk in one hundred and forty-one. An amusing mistake, resulting from the variant forms which an Indian word may acquire in a foreign language occurred in an early estimate of the population of Alaska. Among the coast people of this Territory is a tribe, the name of which when spelled phonetically is Xuts'nuwu', signifying "Grizzly-bear fort". The first letter is a palatal aspirate, however, and while readily rendered into German as *ch*, has been transcribed in diverse ways by American explorers and officials so that we find on the one hand Hoochenoo, Hoodchenoo, Hoonchenoo, Hutsinoo, Hoodsinoo, and on the other Khootznahoo, Khutsnu, Kootznoo, and Koushnou. Therefore, it is perhaps not strange that a certain compiler of population records two Alaskan tribes, one named "Hoodsnahoos" and the other "Koutznous", each with a snug and plausible population.

Mistakes of this kind are, of course, only the result of gross carelessness and will occur with much less provocation, but a great many others are made in spite of the most conscientious efforts at correctness, either because names are unknown to the transcriber, or because the forms before him vary so much from the usual ones that

he fails to recognize them. In the State House at Columbia, South Carolina, are parts of the original journal of the colonial House of Assembly, together with a copy of the same made in recent times with the laudable object of protecting the original from too frequent handling. Although this transcription is executed with great care a comparison of the two, made by the writer, shows that Saxapah has been copied Saypae, and Essawees as Epanees, the result in both cases being to obscure almost completely the names of two fairly well known tribes.

None of you, I take it, needs an introduction to our old friend the misprint; but here again the Indian word suffers worse than almost any other. Among such misprints may be mentioned Cochali for Coshati, Kakegue for Taskegue, Machecons for Mashcouqui, Dawta for Dakota, Chilcaks and Chilcales for Chilcats, and most astonishing of all Houjets for Avoyels.

When it is remembered that the classification of an Indian tribe or some important fact connected with its early history may depend on one citation and the proper identification of a single name the importance of accuracy in transcription becomes at once evident. I would urge upon all historians and all transcribers of historical documents the utmost care in copying Indian names. The second volume of the *Handbook of American Indians* which is now in press is supplied with copious cross-references enabling one to identify what tribes are referred to by most of the names found in print and sometimes in manuscript authorities as well. As soon as it appears I suggest that every person who undertakes or is commissioned to transcribe historical documents that contain references to Indians be given access to this work. But pending its appearance I desire to assure all such students that the members of the Bureau of American Ethnology, and I am sure other students of American Indians also, will be glad to answer queries or assist historical

students in any way possible. I would suggest that tracings be made of such Indian names as the student finds difficulty in deciphering and that the same be transmitted to us. Personally I may say that I have had so much experience of the importance to ethnologists of accurate transcriptions that I will pledge my immediate attention to such communications.

PAST AND PRESENT STICKING POINTS IN TAXATION

BY FRANK L. McVEY

If any justification were needed for my appearance upon this platform in connection with a meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association it is furnished in the statement of the editor of the *Iowa Economic History Series*, in his introduction to Mr. Downey's volume, to the effect that history is more than politics and biography: as a record of the evolution of human institutions it includes the social and economic life of man. In this I see the historian invading the field of the economist; but, in accordance with long established custom, as one of the guild of economists, I welcome the incursion in order that we may have the historian's version of the story. I may, therefore, begin my discussion without further reference to the fields of the historian and the economist.

In this Athens of a great commonwealth, we stand in almost the geographical center of the northern Mississippi Valley. Here, in a great basin filled with fertile fields and remarkable natural resources, has been gathered from the four corners of the world a high type of democracy, composed of citizens firm in their adherence to the principles of representative government and well trained in habits of industry. Everywhere are to be seen the evidences of enlightenment. On the hilltops stand the places of education; in the towns and villages are located schools, libraries, and newspapers. Over this democracy hovers a spirit of social advancement. Every face is turned toward the future; while the ideal of co-

operation, of wider governmental interest, gives forth evidence of further progress.

Such a movement forward demands government of a high order, clear-sighted intelligence, and hopeful courage, thorough-going and militant. Back of it all is the great problem of means to accomplish the ends desired. Out of it, as in the case of the sinews of war, appear the question and the principles of taxation.

As citizens in this democracy, the thing which checks our progress and keeps us as a great people from moving forward to new accomplishments in the field of social endeavor is a matter of vast importance. Hence, in discussing with you for a brief period the past and present sticking points in taxation I have the feeling that I am bringing to your attention something worthy of your consideration and a matter that is vital to us all.

A glance at the industrial organization of the different commonwealths in the Mississippi Valley, accompanied by some examination of their constitutions and statute books, reveals the fact that there is a close similarity and in some instances an actual identity of language and principle in the taxing systems in vogue. We are all hung, as it were, upon the same peg. We are all sticking at the same point. When it is kept in mind what the sources of the institutions, governmental and social, have been in this Valley, it is little to be wondered that there has been such adherence to the same system and the same methods of raising revenue. The effect upon the social organization is as marked as in the instance of tax laws; where a departure has been made from the old system from which we, as Mississippi Valley States, have derived our laws, there have been advances made toward a more modern type of social enterprise. What fitted us in the early days no longer suffices for the solution of the larger and more complicated problems of the present. Education demands larger facilities;

charitable institutions have ceased to be penal and are now social; mud roads, always inadequate, will no longer be tolerated. As a democracy we are face to face with the question of how to meet the new social demands of the day. What holds us back? The answer is lack of revenue and an inadequate system of taxation. My duty is done if I trace the source of our present difficulties and point out how we may go farther on toward better things.

Three streams of immigration passed into the new territory opened to settlement after the Revolutionary War.¹ One came through the Mohawk Valley into New York and later moved into Ohio; a second, passing by way of the mountains, entered finally into the Valley of the Ohio through the pass opened by the headwaters of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers; and the third group made their way westward over the great pass which separates the Allegheny Mountains from the Blue Ridge. The first group was composed largely of people from New England; the second, from New Jersey, Delaware, New York, and eastern Pennsylvania; and the third came from Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina. The group that entered by the northern passage found their way into Ohio; the same was true of the second group; and the third passed into Kentucky and Tennessee. Ohio was the valley through which the population in its westward movement passed; east, north, south, west, whatever the direction, the stream moved into this great valley, and much of it stopped for a time, absorbing thereby the customs, laws, and ideas of a common people. Thus Ohio became a great territory of amalgamation, where the ideas brought from the more eastern

¹ Gephart's *Transportation and Industrial Development in the Middle West in Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*, Vol. XXXIV, Ch. II.

settlements were mixed and moulded into constitutions and statutes.²

The Constitution of Ohio reflects this view. On the subject of taxation it provides that all property, personal and real, shall be taxed equally and uniformly.³ The Kelly Act of 1846 set forth in more definite terms than the earlier laws the nature of the general property tax. Under its provisions, while some exceptions were made, the test of ability to pay taxes was the amount of property owned by the individual taxed. But, more than that, the law provided that under the sanction of oaths the taxpayer should tell about his property and that all men should make returns according to the exact truth. The legislators believed that it would be possible to compel the rich people of the different communities to pay taxes on intangible wealth through this plan of self-assessment.⁴

What proved to be true, however, was that the law permitted avoidance of taxation rather than enforcement; and as society grew more complicated the law became less and less efficient.⁵ This general property tax, however, fitted in some measure the pioneer conditions of the day. The property which men held consisted of lands, buildings, tools, and stock. All were to be seen and all were open to inspection, so that a rough sort of justice could be maintained under the provisions of the law. This system, however, instead of being modified to meet new conditions, and instead of new legislation being enacted for the establishment of tax systems elsewhere, has been copied in the new States that have been formed to the westward. In Indiana, in Illinois, in Iowa, in Min-

² *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*, Vol. XXXIV, Ch. XIV.

³ *Constitution of Ohio*, Art. XII, Sec. II.

⁴ *Adams's Public Finance*, p. 368; *Wells's Theory and Practice of Taxation*, p. 410.

⁵ *Report of Massachusetts Commission on Taxation*, 1908, p. 26.

nesota, in Wisconsin, and in the Dakotas the same provisions are to be found, in almost the same language, as were formulated in the earlier laws of Ohio. The Ohio Constitution states that "laws shall be passed, taxing (1) by a uniform rule, all moneys, credits, (2) investments in bonds, stocks, (3) joint stock companies, or otherwise; *and also all* (4) *real and personal property* (5) according to its true value in money". (Art. XII, Sec. 2.)

The constitutional provisions of the other States mentioned are as follows:—

Minnesota (Art. IX, Sec. 1): "Taxes to be raised in this State shall be as nearly equal as may be, and all property on which taxes are to be levied shall have a cash valuation to be equalized and uniform throughout the state; and laws shall be passed taxing property according to its true value in money."

Illinois (Art. VIII, Sec. 20): "The mode of levying a tax shall be by valuation, so that every person shall pay a tax in proportion to the value of the property he or she has in his or her possession."

Indiana (Art. X, Sec. 1): "The General Assembly shall provide, by law, for a uniform and equal rate of assessment and taxation; and shall prescribe such regulations as shall secure a just valuation for taxation of all property, both real and personal, excepting such only for municipal, educational, literary, scientific, religious, or charitable purposes, as may be specially exempted by law."

Wisconsin (Art. VIII, Sec. 1): "The rule of taxation shall be uniform, and taxes shall be levied upon such property as the legislature shall prescribe."

South Dakota (Art. XI, Sec. 2): "All taxes to be raised in this state shall be uniform on all real and personal property, according to its value in money, to be ascertained by such rules of appraisement and assess-

ment as may be prescribed by general law, so that every person and corporation shall pay a tax in proportion to the value of his, her or its property."

North Dakota (Art. XI, Sec. 176): "Laws shall be passed taxing by uniform rule all property, according to its true value in money."

This similarity is not to be wondered at when it is remembered that as new frontiers were established, the customs, the institutions, and the methods of the older communities were transferred to the newer territory and established there. An examination of the first legislatures of several of the States reveals the fact that the men who composed them were born and reared in the New England or Middle States,⁶ and as they moved westward and took part in the creation of new States they turned naturally for guidance to the pages of the constitutions and statute books of the commonwealths from which they came. In consequence there has been built up in the States of the northern Mississippi Valley a body of law which reflects the point of view, together with the errors of the early legislators of Ohio. In so far as this statement applies to the general property tax, the legislatures had honorable examples in the transmittal of the idea from England to the soil of Massachusetts Bay Colony, which they in turn revived and mixed in the Ohio crucible, to be later moulded into constitutions and laws of newer States.⁷

Occasionally attempts have been made to depart from the long established general property tax and to create a system that would be more conformable to fundamental economic principles and the changing conditions of industrial life. In 1871 David A. Wells, fresh

⁶ The figures for Minnesota show that nine were from the New England States, ten from the Middle States, three from Canada, one from Missouri, one from Virginia, and three are not given.

⁷ *Report of Massachusetts Commission on Taxation*, 1908, p. 23.

from his experience as Commissioner of Revenue for the Department of the Interior of the Federal government, was called to the leadership of the tax commission of New York, which had been created by the legislature for the purpose of securing an investigation of the tax situation in that State.⁸ After a careful study of the situation, the commission made a report, together with a number of recommendations. The discussion of the general tax situation was conducted with keenness and analytic power; but after its presentation to the legislature no action was taken and the commission, being a temporary body, passed out of existence, with only its admirable volume as its record. Ten years later the State of Maryland, confronted by many of the same questions that puzzled the members of the New York legislature, created a temporary commission which was to investigate and report to the legislature. The commission was under the direction and leadership of Richard T. Ely, and it in turn presented an excellent report, thorough-going and worthy of consideration.⁹ The suggestions in it were pointed; but again, strange to say, the legislature of Maryland refused to adopt any of the suggestions made by the commission.

In Massachusetts, in the year 1872, a temporary tax commission made a report, and again in 1894 and 1908.¹⁰ The last commission analyzed the personal property tax, showed the way in which it worked, the decline in assessments, and made some practical suggestions to the legislature, which, because of constitutional difficulties, was unable to adopt any of the essential parts of the report.

A step forward is to be noted at this point. Just as the temporary commission was an advance, so the permanent commission was a step in the direction of a better

⁸ *Report of New York Tax Commission*, 1871.

⁹ *Report of Maryland Tax Commission*, 1881.

¹⁰ *Report of Massachusetts Commission on Taxation*, 1908.

system of taxation. Beginning with the year 1894 a departure is to be noted from the temporary commissions of the earlier days to the establishment of permanent State tax commissions that should have power and authority over the making of assessments, with instructions to investigate and report to the legislature. In 1905 Wisconsin reorganized her tax commission law which had been established in 1899.¹¹ The new commission began at once the important work of re-assessing the railway properties in the State and attempted to secure information concerning the real value of the real estate in the commonwealth. A system of supervising taxation by commission has now been in existence in Wisconsin nearly fourteen years. In that time considerable progress has been made in the assessment and taxation of railroads, but great difficulty has been found in making any advance over the assessment of 1903 under the provisions of the general property tax. The assessment reached seventy or eighty per cent of the total value of the real estate. Since the establishment of the first Wisconsin commission in 1898 a number of other States, notably New York, Indiana, and Minnesota, have created permanent tax commissions. These bodies, after a history of from one to four years, have dropped back into assessing and valuation boards, without attempting to do very much in the way of reform.

Some reference to the experience of the tax commission of Minnesota will bring out more clearly the statement just made. This commission was created in the year 1907, taking office in May of that year. It had an annual appropriation of \$30,000, and its first attempt was to secure information regarding the actual value of real estate in the commonwealth. Its second purpose was to secure some idea of the values existent in the iron properties in the northern part of the State.

¹¹ *Laws of Wisconsin*, Ch. 206 as amended by Ch. 322, 1899.

The first problem was met by what is called the sales system of valuing land.¹² The method followed was to take the sales of land in a given community and compare them with the assessments made against this land. In this way the relationship between the two was established. Having secured the percentage of assessment to the value of the land, it was possible, by taking the total assessment, to ascertain the value of the real estate in a community. This was done both in Wisconsin and in Minnesota. In Minnesota the results of the work revealed the fact that the assessments of real property in and about the State, including the cities, averaged about forty-two per cent of the actual value as disclosed by sales. But it was further discovered that, outside of the northern counties, property in the country was assessed at a lower figure than that of the cities. In St. Paul the assessment, on the average, was about fifty-seven per cent, in Minneapolis fifty to fifty-one per cent, in Duluth about forty-four per cent, and in the city of Winona about fifty per cent. Here was a situation that was well worth ascertaining, showing great variation between the cities themselves and also between the city and the country.¹³

The second problem mentioned above was the assessment of the iron properties in the northern part of the State: the different types of mines if classified on the basis of the value of their ore, the difficulty of getting at it, and the cost of mining. Out of this situation were created five different classes of mines and three different classes of prospects. The various mines were given different values in accordance with the class to which they belonged. On account of the thoroughness with which

¹² Polley's *Real Estate Valuations in Minnesota Academy of Social Sciences*, 1907, pp. 58-78; Adams's *Valuation of Real Estate by Wisconsin Tax Commission in Minnesota Academy of Social Sciences*, 1907, pp. 79-104.

¹³ *Report of Minnesota Tax Commission*, 1908, Ch. 4.

the ground had been explored by the companies it was possible to ascertain rather extendedly and somewhat scientifically the amount of iron ore and its value.¹⁴ The result of this proceeding was that the commission placed an assessment of \$194,000,000 on the iron properties in the State. The next year, because of the amount of ore that had been mined, this value was somewhat reduced; but last year it was increased, on account of new tonnage discovered through new explorations, to \$205,000,000.

The two things, therefore, which the Minnesota Tax Commission accomplished in the two years of its history were: first, the valuation of real estate and the determination of the percentage of the assessment to land values; and second, the valuation of the iron ore properties in the northern part of the State. In 1909 a constitutional amendment was declared adopted, and under its provisions the legislature was enabled, because the Constitution now declared that property might be classed and the tax fixed in accordance with the class, to create any kind or type of tax law.¹⁵ Under the old system all classes of property must be taxed in the same way; under the new provisions of the law it was possible to tax any class in any given way so long as the tax applied to the entire class. As a result of this amendment the legislature was flooded with a mass of bills on all phases of taxation, and as a consequence of the situation thereby produced no legislation of any importance was effected that dealt with the tax problem. The tax commission had recommended a number of things in its report to the legislature. Among these were the establishment of the county assessor system and the taxation of public utilities; but none of the legislation asked for was passed, and as a consequence the session closed with no seeming advance over the previous two years. The adjournment of the

¹⁴ *Report of Minnesota Tax Commission*, 1908, Ch. 8, 9.

¹⁵ *Report of Minnesota Tax Commission*, 1908, Ch. 15.

legislature, as a result, left the commission with a request to investigate the income tax and report to the next legislature, authorizing it to act as a board of appeal from the county commissioners in the case of appeal from local assessors.

The history of the Minnesota Tax Commission, therefore, seems to follow that of other States, except that in the time it was in existence it had actually accomplished more than most commissions. In its dealings with the legislature, however, it had failed to secure any more than the other State commissions. Here is the second sticking point in taxation. Some progress may therefore be noted in the movement away from the earlier forms of laws generally adopted.

Recalling to your memory what has been said regarding the temporary commissions of 1871 in New York, of 1881 in Maryland, and of 1872, 1894, and 1907 in Massachusetts, it will be remembered that they failed to secure any results; when the permanent commissions were established practically no advance legislation was secured as a consequence of their efforts to better the situation. The permanent tax commission is unquestionably an advance over the older system — it centralizes assessments. But we are again stalled at just the same point that we were before. The legislatures refuse to change the system of taxation.

There are two dangers which confront the permanent tax commission: one, that in the transition from the temporary to the permanent tax commission the initiative which created the latter will grow less and less in reform legislation; and the other, that the commissions will gradually become little more than assessing boards, with somewhat larger powers, with somewhat more initiative possibly, and with perhaps a more scientific way of making assessments.

It is the common opinion that our tax system should

be reformed, but for some reason we are not going forward as rapidly as we should. Out of the economic conditions which have existed in the Mississippi Valley, two things in particular have been made manifest: one is the creation of a marked individualism, seen in the attitude of men towards industry, towards government, and toward the modification of legislation; the other is what has been termed State rights. The States in their relation to the Federal government have had the emphasis placed upon the local problem, with the result that our whole system of taxation has grown from a local to a State system, the State system having been modified to meet the previously existent local forms of taxation. These two things — individualism and State rights — stand in the way of a modern system of taxation. Income and property can no longer be localized. The attempt to tax every man on all of his property must give way to the idea that property must be taxed in accordance with its earning capacity. This may mean direct or it may mean indirect taxation. Consequently, the whole philosophy of taxation as it has been developed in our history, particularly here in the Middle West, must be changed. We used to adhere to the doctrine, and it is still heard, that that State is the best governed that is the least governed; but the passage of many laws that have produced great social betterment has in a measure placed this political theory in the background, and we are beginning to recognize that the social phase of government is more important, more essential, than the individualistic phase. In view of these considerations it may be said with a good deal of emphasis that our failure to advance toward larger reform in matters of taxation may be due to some fundamental conceptions that have arisen out of our earlier history. The fiscal problems that are confronting us to-day have their origin within recent years, and our concern in meeting these has gradually brought us

to a realization of the fact that some change in the attitude of legislatures and in administrative methods must be secured in carrying on the work of taxation. As in many other social problems, we have begun at the wrong end, and have attempted to reform from the top downward rather than following the reverse method. The first step toward betterment must be in the field of administration, and this means that with greater care in the selection of officers and with some modifications of the law, the present system of taxation can be administered with greater efficiency than in the past. This, coupled with the work of the permanent tax commissions will slowly produce results in the increasing demand for greater income for social purposes; and in time these changes will require modification in the legislation itself.

Before this can be done, however, it is necessary that a larger appreciation shall exist as to the relation of the system of taxation to social welfare. Constant vigilance and insistent education will in time bring us to the problem of what real taxation is; but before we can get anywhere, even on that line, it is necessary to come to some agreement as to what taxation really is. If the single-taxers agree upon one form, and other tax authorities upon another, each group having its own strong body of adherents, we will never secure adequate or satisfactory legislation, except after a long period of time and when some common ground has been reached from which demands may be made. If we could come to some definite conclusions relative to taxation — for instance, that there ought to be separation between State and local taxation, that the State ought not, except on extraordinary occasions, to levy a tax upon real estate, but upon securities and other corporate business enterprises within the State, and that the local bodies should have the choice of raising their taxes from real estate — we should be in a position to give up some of the present forms of taxation and

substitute in their place, not a uniform income tax, but some form of taxing securities, bonds, stocks, and the like that would to all intents and purposes be a modified income tax.

Such a program carefully worked out and elaborated would in time carry us beyond the sticking points that have held us so fast during the last fifty years. A new crucible must be created in which these ideas on taxation can again be molded into a system. The materials for the crucible must be created through the medium of education, and then carried from the State where the experiment is being tried to the newer and younger States farther west, repeating the history of the last century. In some measure two States appear to have lighted the fires under the crucible, to, in fact, be engaged in placing materials in them — Wisconsin with her contribution of the tax commission, railroad assessment and better administration, and Minnesota in her gross earnings tax, taxation of iron ore properties, and centralized assessment of property throughout the State. When these ideas are formulated into definite and clear-cut law, and other features are added, the States will again be ready to copy the systems of the States where the experiments have been made.

THE CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

By W J McGEE

In all ages and lands men have moved against winds and current, and so westward and inland. In a word, human progress is a tale of conquest; and a part of the tale was told in America.

Even in the Prime, when mankind were just becoming human, man made the greatest industrial advance in all his history — no so little thing as the control of steam, but that earlier mastery which opened the way to all arts and crafts — the Conquest of Fire. To those who know the ways of primitive thought it is clear that the Promethean gift was no chance spark caught in lucky tinder, and came not without generations of association in which fire was slowly made both animate and deific — not, indeed, without habitual contact with volcanic flow and slowly cooling lava. Now our own West, with one of the two greatest lava fields of the globe (the other that of central France) and its scattered flows, gave the American Aborigines opportunity, and all of them mastered fire centuries before Columbus. Man's second greatest industrial advance was no so little thing as harnessing electricity, but was the painfully slow and mystery-burdened mastery of the sharp edge — the Conquest of the Knife. This was made in many lands during the ages, but it was caught in the making only in California and on neighboring coasts. The next industrial stride spanned no so narrow chasm as that of wireless transmission, but stretched over the first mastery of elasticity — it was that Conquest of the Spring, still under way in Mexico (as the corded atlatl passed into the shaft-sending bow) when

Cortez came. The fourth industrial advance in order, and the second in magnitude, was no so small thing as railway or steamship, but arose in the sluggish and faith-guided mastery of the principle of rotation which made these possible — the Conquest of the Wheel. This was indeed made independently in the Old World, where it was perfected by the aid of draft animals; yet it remained for our own West to reveal the way of its making under the patient processes of primitive philosophy, a philosophy always conceived in the uncanny and born in mystery.

Many minor advances, too, have come out of our West: The Conquest of Corn, the romance of the vegetal realm; the Conquest of Beasts (dog and guanaco and turkey and others), with the worshipful lore of the animal realm — these and others came not through the swift and facile Minervan birth of invention, but only through that tedious travail in which the hands lead and the mind lags after. Of such were the gifts of the West unto the East even among the Aborigines; they all marked Conquest over Nature; and they grew up and were given freely by virtue of the strenuous life arising in a region of stressful extremes — for in the primal periods of humanity's youth, no less than now, the softer impulses of stressless means lead men to eat lotus and loll their lives away leaving little mark on the face of Nature or the scroll of time.

Now the line between East and West is a shifting one. When the Nation was young, New York and Pennsylvania were western States; then Ohio became the Far West and Indiana an Ultima Thule, while the Empire and Keystone commonwealths became Middle States. Now the Mississippi is an eastern river; Kansas and Nebraska and the Dakotas are the actual Middle States; and the Pacific States are the West — with a new Far West away beyond in Hawaii and the Philippines. In every stage

of settlement from the eastern flanks of the Appalachians to the western face of the Rockies and the foot-slopes of the Sierra the geographic and climatal means tended toward extremes, and thus toward more stressful experiences among the settlers; and so the West, drawing its blood and bone and brawn from the East, has repaid in brain and in brain-wrought Conquest over Nature. "Westward the course of empire takes its way", wrote a good bishop on the shores of Long Island Sound; yet the Star of Conquest ever shines most brightly eastward whence the initial impulse came. How different the course of Conquest would have been had the Pilgrims entered the Golden Gate in lieu of landing on Plymouth Rock, none may say confidently; yet it is easy to see that had this happened the American pioneers would have begun and continued their Conquest with a vastly higher appreciation of natural values than that implanted on the Atlantic Coast.

The four greatest steps in Man's industrial progress since humanity began being those marking Conquest over Fire, Knife, Spring, and Wheel, the single step remaining to be taken before Man becomes master over Nature is no so small thing as the navigation of the air, which marks merely a new application of primary principles, but so great a thing as the Conquest of Water — a step no less sweeping and cosmic than the Conquest of Fire, and one which will be made perfect only when Water is not merely guided and directed in movement (as was Fire during the milleniums of the Prime) but actually drawn from the materials of Nature at human behest as to time and place and quantity, much like the fires used now in the arts and crafts. Some desert animals certainly, and many desert plants presumably, are able to convert other substances into H_2O and CO_2 , that is, into Water with an equivalent of carbonic acid passing off into the air; and since Man may always do better what lower nature can

do at all, scientific prevision finds herein some basis for forecasting a full Conquest of Water, when cacti and agave and other desert plants are selected and Burbanked and improved in such wise as not only to sustain themselves in richer luxuriance but yield enough water over to sustain a human population! Whether the prevision of science be justified, time will tell; and the question may be raised — recalling the four great Conquests already made — whether the spirit of diviner prophecy hovered over Bishop Berkeley when he wrote:

Westward the course of empire takes its way;
The four first Acts already past,
A fifth shall close the Drama with the day;
Time's noblest offspring is the last.

Assuredly water is our primary and chiefest resource as the source of life itself; assuredly the most strenuous experiences of settlers in our arid regions arise in the strife for water; and assuredly if the settlement of our country had begun in the arid West our standards of thought, our laws, and our practical concepts would have been more trenchant and far wiser than the slovenly notions and practices imported from a mother-land where water so abounds that it is felt a burden rather than a benefit — a bane rather than a boon. Even as it is, our clearest concepts of equity in water resources are out of the West — our justest decisions perhaps from Arizona, and our completest water statute from Oregon.

The widening division between East and West has kept pace with our history; and in each generation the West of the time was the more stressful and dynamic in that it was the seat of pioneering and in that the extremes were wider. When Independence was declared and the Constitution was framed, no resources were reckoned except the Men who made the nation and the Land on which they lived. The very munitions of war, like the tools and utensils of peace, were mainly imported. Some

iron was indeed wrought expensively with charcoal, but a half-century passed before coal mining and effective smelting began. Meantime the trees of centuries-old forests were deemed obstructions to settlement rather than values in themselves; and the most strenuous work of any people in any country in all the world's history up to the middle of the nineteenth century was that performed by the pioneers in destroying the magnificent forests of the western frontier in Ohio and neighboring States — a work that bent the backs, though it could not break the spirits, of eastern-born men and women as they felled trees, burned logs, and grubbed stumps in clearing homesteads worth less to-day than would be the timber had it been left standing!

Now because the Fathers saw Land as the sole natural resource of the country, so the succeeding generations remained indifferent to the values residing in the minerals below and the forests above, and parted with all together as acres or "sections" of land. Herein lay what now seems the most serious error in the world's greatest Republic. Monarchs are accustomed to retaining royal or imperial rights in the forests and minerals, and these eventually inure to the benefit of their people; ecclesiastic institutions allied with monarchial rule have commonly held rein over rarer resources until they were reclaimed by the growing generations of men; but through a lamentable lack of foresight our Republic hastened to give away, under the guise of land to live on, values far greater than the land itself — and this policy continued for generations. Men still living remember when the finest coal fields of the then western States of Pennsylvania and Virginia were sold as mere lands, with no added price for the coal beneath or the wood above; their sons remember when the iron ranges of the newer West in the Lake Superior region and in Alabama were transferred at the lowest government figures for land,

with no added rates for the vast mineral wealth; and even younglings well recall the sale of fine woodlands at the conventional farm-land price of \$1.25 per acre — and that, too, when each tree of the hundred or two standing on each acre was worth more than the acre-price!

The policy of free giving grew into thoughtless habit, and this into a craze which spread apace; swamp lands in millions of invaluable acres were unloaded on States on terms seldom taken seriously, and their title in turn was often allowed to pass virtually without consideration; empires in extent of lands rich in forests and minerals were given outright to corporations for promoting transportation when a hundredth or even a thousandth of their prospective value a half-century later would have been more useful; States and cities followed the national lead, and all manner of franchises — rights of way, water rights, and the rest — were given for long terms or in perpetuity to all comers, generally without money and without price. In all the world's history no other such saturnalia of squandering the sources of permanent prosperity was ever witnessed! In the material aspect, our individual liberty became collective license, and our legislative and administrative prodigality grew into national profligacy; the balance between impulse and responsibility was lost, the future of the People and Nation was forgotten, and the very name of posterity was made a by-word by men in high places; and worst of all the very profligacies came to be venerated as law and even crystallized foolishly in decisions or more questionably in enactments — and for long there were none to stand in the way of the growing avalanche of extravagance. The waste was always wildest in the West, for as settlement followed the sun new resources were discovered or came into being through natural growth; yet at last even the vigorous West was awakened, and that largely through the reckless alienation of land — as noted later.

The policy of the free gift of land grew out of the Fathers' dream of a freehold landed citizenry, with each citizen the head of an independent family. Now the extension of the free giving to other values than those of the land itself led to both good and evil results, not foreseen before the collateral values came into being through the natural growth and orderly development of our People. The free gift of minerals and forests opened for foresighted men ways to wealth and power beyond all historical precedent; and so America became a manufacturing nation, rich and powerful among the world's nations, with unexampled rapidity. At the same time the free gift of these resources — having no value in themselves apart from that given them by the growth of the People — opened the way to monopoly, and the resources passed under monopolistic control with a rapidity never before seen in all the world's history; and it is hardly too much to say that the Nation has become one of the Captains of Industry first, and one of the People and their chosen representatives only second. With the free gift, under the title of land, of resources far exceeding the land in value, the aspiration of the Fathers for a land of free families failed; for the mineral-bearing and wood-bearing lands were devoted to mining and milling and manufacturing instead of homes, and the People became in large measure industrial dependents rather than free citizens.

So far have these changes gone that it is a question whether a majority of our electorate is not to-day in a condition of industrial dependence akin to that of the yeomanry and peasantry in days of feudalism; and it is beyond question that some of the most important social and political problems now confronting us are due to the passing of that industrial and social independence which the Fathers sought to establish through a freehold landed citizenry, and which scarcely survives save in our rural

districts. It was told of old that the camel begged his Arab master to admit his nose into the warm tent for protection against wind and cold, and that when his plea was granted the shaggy head and ears and the snaky neck and then the stout shoulders and the rest of the body followed, until the sheik himself was pushed out into the storm; and verily our People and their chosen representatives, who warmed the breath of the subalterns of industry in their youthful weakness, may well take warning!

An incidental result of the free gift of resources was habitual failure to appreciate their worth; and they were wasted recklessly. Up to the middle of the last century, when coal fields were sold as land and coal was appraised only at the labor of extracting it, operators were content to take out but a quarter or third of the natural fuel, leaving the rest as waste. Even up to date, coal mining operations have left forever inaccessible in the ground about as much coal as that taken out; and incredible as it may sound, even to-day hardly five per cent of the thermal energy of the hundreds of millions of tons of coal consumed each year is utilized for heat or power — and much less than one per cent. for light from the abounding electric arc! In the metals the waste is less, since tailings may be, and often are, re-worked. In timber the case is worse. While settlement spread, forest fires spread more rapidly; and up to date the destruction by fire has been far beyond that by the axe. So, too, wastes in logging and lumbering and milling have exceeded the utilization of timber; even during the past decade the wood actually used was hardly a third of that standing in the forest as the cutting began. Nor are other wastes less appalling. The losses due to preventable conflagration run into the hundreds of millions yearly; America's loss of life through carelessness in mining exceeds her losses of life in war, and the toll continues

at the rate of more than a full regiment yearly; while the loss of life and limb in reckless railroading is still more ghastly. Perhaps the gravest single item is the loss through erosion of the soil due to careless farming, which is estimated at \$500,000,000 per year — the heaviest tax borne by the American farmer. The spirit of prodigality begotten of the policy of free gift has come to pervade thought and deaden sensibility — such lavish and foolish waste as that of this country during recent decades the world never saw before!

Done in a few lines, the history of the country and its resources began with a struggle for liberty so vigorous as to mark an epoch in the world's progress, and moved on in an effort for equality to be secured by equitable partition of the land among independent citizens. As time passed the People grew, and with them other values opening opportunities less to People than to Privilege; and wealth beyond the visions of avarice and power above the dreams of tyranny have come to the few — at vast cost to the just patrimony of the multitude — while much of the substance of the Nation has been wasted and many of the People have passed under the domination of the beneficiaries of Privilege. Ample resources indeed remain — enough to insure the perpetuity of the People — but the question also remains whether these shall be held and used by the People, whose travail gave them value and whose rights therein are inalienable and infeasible under the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, or whether they shall go chiefly into the hands of the self-chosen and self-annointed few, largely to forge new shackles for the wrists and ankles of the many! This problem of history is not one of passion or for reckless action. The simple facts are that the inequities arose chiefly in the confusion of other resources with Land, and that the inequalities in opportunity due to this confusion have arisen so insidiously as to escape

notice. Yet the question remains: How may American freemen proceed decently and in order to reclaim their own?

When the Nation was young its area was small; but successive additions of territory were made on the West — the ever-growing new West — affording new frontiers for pioneering and final conquest, until the area of mainland United States came to approximate two billion acres. A third of this area is arid; and a quarter-century ago John Wesley Powell — soldier, scientist, philosopher, a western man in breeding and spirit — saw that the public lands available for individual settlement under the original plan were nearly exhausted, and conceived the idea of virtually extending the public domain by making the arid lands available for settlement through irrigation; and, as Director of the Geological Survey, he initiated practical work in that direction. It was characteristically a task of the West! Meantime the forests were still passing under the destructive fire and wasteful axe, until a practical Prophet of the Forest appeared in the person of Gifford Pinchot — born and bred in the East but receptive of the spirit of the West; one styled a “brilliant dreamer”, though better described as a modern Ajax — who boldly conceived the patriotic plan of protecting the country’s forests for the country’s benefit. Several statesmen were hospitable to the plans of Powell and Pinchot for extending the habitable lands and conserving the woods, and the work went forward slowly. Powell was soon succeeded in the reclamation work by Frederick Haynes Newell, who opened a new chapter in the engineering history of the world by the magnitude and long foresight of his reclamation projects; while Pinchot’s forest policy became no less epoch-marking. In good time came Theodore Roosevelt — in whom East and West met in ceaseless struggle for supremacy, making

him the typical American of his generation — and as President he not only sustained the Forest and Reclamation Services, but pushed on toward the reclamation of the rivers for navigation and other uses, an effort in which his hands were held up by many — notably James Rudolph Garfield, first as Commissioner of Corporations and later as Secretary of the Interior. Now as Pinchot and Newell and Garfield traversed the West in their work, they were impressed by the broad areas of public land transferred nominally to actual settlers — that is, to the landed citizenry foreshadowed in the visions of the Fathers of the Republic — yet in such wise that it actually passed into the ownership of great corporations, who were so mightily enriched and strengthened thereby as to become a power in legislative halls of the States, if not of the Nation. Thus, the traveler in western Washington to-day passes through far-stretching forests among the most magnificent on the globe, yet sees only a few scattered settlers on whole landscapes of which fifty per cent., seventy per cent., even eighty per cent., belong to transportation or lumber companies, often headquartered in Minnesota or other States a thousand miles or more away; while the splendid water powers have been surveyed and seized by the same or other foreign corporations! Pinchot and Garfield especially, and Roosevelt in his turn, sought to counteract the tendency toward wholesale alienation of the public lands for the benefit of the corporation and the oppression or suppression of the settler; and in the end their efforts resulted in what is now known as the Conservation Movement: a movement leading through a Waterways Commission, a Conference of Governors in the White House, a Conservation Commission, and a dozen congresses and conventions — though none the less the offspring of a few far-seeing minds, and a gift of the dynamic West to the waiting East.

The National Conservation Commission made an inventory of the country's resources, the most comprehensive ever prepared in any land. The figures are preliminary, and will be modified by fuller data; yet they may be relied on to guide current thought and action. At the current increasing rates of consumption and waste, our forests would last twenty-five years, or, allowing for growth, thirty-three years, a single generation; our high grade iron ores (of which we mine annually some 1300 pounds for each man and woman and child of our population) would be gone by the middle of the century and the low grade ores by its end; our coal (of which we consume some five tons per capita yearly) would last well toward the end of the next century. Of course the current increasing rate will not continue until the resources are gone, since an economic balance will intervene through the advance of cost with the diminution of supply as the pinch precedes the end; yet it is no less needful to take stock in terms of current use than it is for the judicious commissary officer to compute and eventually balance the supply and consumption of rations. Of our two billion acres of land, about one-third is virtually unproductive by reason of aridity, while in another third the rainfall is less than is required for full productivity in the present state of agriculture; some two-fifths of the whole is occupied by farms, and about one-fifth is actually farmed.

Our stock of water (inventoried for the first time by the Commission) is supplied by rain and snow, and is equivalent to the volume of ten Mississippi Rivers flowing constantly at the average rate; the mean precipitation is thirty inches, or about half that required for full crops. In other words the habitability of the country is not limited by acreage but by rainfall, since with half our area and all our rainfall equably distributed our possible population and industries would be great as they are with our present area of three million square miles. The in-

ventory, indeed, throws new light on water as a resource, virtually the fundamental resource which gives value to all the rest. Water is the leading food for man and beast and plant; there is no vital circulation, no assimilation, no metabolism, no germination or reproduction in the absence of water, or in any other way than as an expression of the inherent properties of water. The agricultural duty of water is the production of one-thousandth part of its weight in average plant crop, or one four-thousandth of its weight in grain. An average adult can subsist on two hundred pounds each of bread and meat yearly, but must supplement this solid food with about two thousand pounds of water; the grain for the bread requires for its growth four hundred tons of water, and the animals yielding the meat require for drink and food about four thousand tons; so that the direct and indirect yearly consumption of water by the average adult inhabitant is fully four thousand, four hundred tons. In the arid region where intensive agriculture is at its best a five-acre farm suffices for a family, or sustains an inhabitant per acre; yet to do this continuously each acre must be supplied with four to five acre-feet (depending on the soil, etc.), or from five thousand to six thousand tons, of water each year. Little wonder that the denizens of the desert learned the value of water in the human economy, and shaped their society and their philosophy to fit its properties and movements! When our population reaches a billion (as it will in normal course in some three centuries, or when the span since the landing of the Pilgrims is doubled) our entire natural water supply will be required to sustain it, though its density will then average but three hundred and twenty per square mile in lieu of the six hundred and forty it could sustain if the limit lay in the land alone — the limit already reached in Belgium. Meantime, our waters are not only ill-utilized, but wantonly wasted, allowed to run off in destructive floods, to

become contaminated at appalling cost of life, to erode the soil and carry away its richest part, and thus to limit navigation and other uses. All our national extravagances are shocking to sensibilities once awakened; none are more so than our waste of water — the last to be realized, partly because the supply is permanent although limited, partly because of a short-sighted ancestral custom of treating the life-giving liquid as a mere appurtenance of the land, a custom unhappily fastened on us by decisions as a common law doctrine without constitutional warrant.

On the basis of the inventory of resources, the National Conservation Commission framed a conservation policy and defined plans for carrying it out; and the whole was submitted to President Roosevelt and by him transmitted to Congress with a vigorous recommendation that the plans be put into practical effect. The plans were not indeed framed in the form of bills, since many of the members of the Commission were Senators and Representatives familiar with legislative procedure and naturally jealous of the prerogative of the legislative branch in the matter of originating the letter of legislation; though in several cases the language of the Report was adapted to incorporation in statutes. Of further action on legal lines, it is enough to say that the recommendations of the Commission were not adopted by the Sixtieth Congress; that the Report was virtually suppressed by printing only an edition far too limited to meet demands; that a measurably personal item was inserted in a general bill (one of the much more than ninety per cent of special and local and personal items of legislation during that Congress) prohibiting the Chief Executive to employ the aid of commissions, and thereby restricting his first constitutional obligation to "give to the Congress information of the state of the Union"; that the outgoing President declared the item unconstitu-

tional in a vigorous message not published by the Congress; and that the incoming President bowed to the legislative invasion, directing the Commission to remain in suspended animation, yet to continue work through a joint committee representing State and National Commissions. Finding the Conservation movement thus checked by the combination, certain citizens held conferences and a congress or two, and finally created the National Conservation Association, led for a time by the eminent ex-President of Harvard, Charles W. Eliot, and later by Gifford Pinchot as President. This Association is now the legitimate repository and exponent of conservation doctrine, and the accepted leader of the Conservation Movement, more especially in its moral aspect.

Of late the term "True Conservation" has gained currency. It originated in a Conservation Congress held in the city of Seattle last October, with a certain Federal judge seized of large holdings in lands and water rights, including water powers, in central Washington. In an eloquent resolution worded to appeal to patriotic spirit, he sought persistently to have the delegates declare in favor of allowing the alienation of lands and other resources to continue as in the past as "the truest conservation". The resolution of the jurist-proprietor was voted down almost unanimously; but his phrase remains. So to-day we have with us "Conservation" and "True Conservation", between which we must choose: the former is crystallized in sundry Roosevelt messages, in the proceedings of the Conference of Governors, in the reports of the Inland Waterways Commission and the National Conservation Commission, and in the soul-stirring addresses and other current utterances of Gifford Pinchot, Charles W. Eliot, James R. Garfield, and their allies; while "True Conservation" is similarly crystallized in sundry bills and both official and unofficial expressions, of which it need only be said that it were generally worth

while to "look for the joker". These two are before the American People, not necessarily as symbols of good and evil (for the optimist finds some good in all things) but for choice, especially as to standard-bearer. One stands for the rights of the People; one seems to stand for the perpetuity of Privilege.

On its face the Conservation Movement is material — ultra-material. At first blush the moral and the social in which cults arise and from which doctrines draw inspiration may not appear. Yet in truth there has never been in all human history a popular movement more firmly grounded in ethics, in the eternal equities, in the divinity of human rights! Whether we rise into the spiritual empyrean or cling more closely to the essence of humanity, we find our loftiest ideals made real in the Cult of Conservation. We merely lay stepping-stones toward the brink of the chasm before us when we declare: No forests, no streams; no iron, no ships; no coal, no power; no farms, no food — for these verities are but seed of thought and feeling. What boots it to us — to look and feel further — that we have two billion acres of land, when we have water enough for but half of it: when, unless we make complete that Conquest of Water thus far but a roseate dream, we have within our borders an unproductive and nearly uninhabitable area exceeding that of Babylonia whence tradition came, Phoenecia whence letters came, lower Egypt whence institutions came, Palestine whence came the Light of the World, with Greece and Italy and Iberia and Germany and Scandinavia and Denmark and Holland and France and the whole of Britain, or all of those countries combined in which the greater chapters of human history were written! What boots it to us that we are ninety million strong, when hardly nine millions are independent electors, with something like an equal number annually selling their birth-

right of free citizenship for messes of monopoly pottage if not for the very wherewithal to eat and wear? What boots it to us that we have wood and coal to burn wantonly as Nero the Ancient City, while other foundations of the house of the Nation are crumbling? What boots it to us, indeed, that America is rich and powerful among the nations when she has become so through fattening on the very sources of life and when the wealth and power are virtually gathered into the hands of some seven Captains of Industry, leaving the rest of the ninety million only the poorer?

Nor is this all: What *right* has any citizen of a free country, whatever his foresight and shrewdness, to seize on sources of life for his own behoof that are the common heritage of all; what *right* has legislature or court to help in the seizure; and striking still more deeply, what *right* has any generation to wholly consume, much less to waste, those sources of life without which the children or the children's children must starve or freeze? These are among the questions arising among intelligent minds in every part of this country, and giving form to a national feeling which is gradually rising to a new plane of equity. The questions will not down. Nay, like Banquo's ghost they tarry, and haunt, and search! How shall they find answer? The ethical doctrine of Conservation answers: by a nobler patriotism, under which citizen-electors will cleave more strongly to their birthright of independence and strive more vigorously for purity of the ballot, for rightness in laws, for cleanness in courts, and for forthrightness in administration; by a higher honesty of purpose between man and man; by a warmer charity, under which the good of all will more fairly merge with the good of each; by a stronger family sense, tending toward a realization of the rights of the unborn; by deeper probity, maturing in the realizing sense that each holder of the sources of life is but a trustee for his nominal pos-

sessions, and is responsible to all men and for all time for making the best use of them in the common interest; and by a livelier humanity, in which each will feel that he lives not for himself alone but as a part of a common life for a common world and for the common good. All this may be old, but it is none the less timely to-day. It was better expressed in an utterance of two millenniums past — “A new commandment give I unto thee, that ye love one another”. But can a decree lose its occasion until it is obeyed?

Whatever its material manifestations, every revolution is first and foremost a revolution in thought and in spirit; and when humanity's greatest revolutions are summed up they are found to be four: the first occurred at the Prime, when the prototype became human, whether by direct fiat or in fruition of a larger plan of Creation; the second was fought out in many lands when the law of maternal kinship, adapted to small groups, passed into a patriarchy adapted to larger aggregations; the third followed in several lands when the patriarchal law of kinship passed into civic organization, especially where the transition was marked by the rise into that higher altruism radiating from Palestine which perfected Civilization; the fourth was inspired in the New World by the new realization that all men are equally entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness — and with this mental revolution, Enlightenment came unto the world. Still the hope of the Fathers for a freehold citizenry joined in equitable and indissoluble Union is not fully attained. The American Revolution was fought for Liberty; the American Constitution was framed for Equality; yet that third of the trinity of human impulses without which Union is not made perfect — Fraternity — has not been established: full brotherhood among men and generations has not yet come. The duty of the Fathers was done well according to their lights; but some new

light has come out of the West where their sons have striven against Nature's forces no less fiercely than the Fathers against foreign dominion. So it would seem to remain for Conservation to perfect the concept and the movement started among the Colonists one hundred and forty years ago — to round out the American Revolution by framing a clearer Bill of Rights. Whatever others there may be, surely these are inherent and indefeasible:—

1. The equal Rights of all men to opportunity.
2. The equal Rights of the People in and to resources rendered valuable by their own natural growth and orderly development.
3. The equal Rights of present and future generations in and to the resources of the country.
4. The equal Rights (and full responsibilities) of all citizens to provide for the perpetuity of families and States and the Union of States.

The keynote of all these is Fraternity. They look to the greatest good for the greatest number and for the longest time; they are essential to perfect union among men and States; and until they are secured to us we may hardly feel assured that government of the People, by the People, and for the People shall not perish from the earth.

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE ON THE TEACH- ING OF HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

BY JAMES ALTON JAMES *Chairman*

In opening the conference Professor James spoke of the problems connected with the teaching of history in secondary schools and the close relation existing between this work and that in the colleges. He called special attention to the influence of the report of the Committee of Seven and to the work of the Committee of Five of the American Historical Association.

Professor A. C. McLaughlin of the University of Chicago, and Chairman of the Committee of Five appointed by the American Historical Association "to consider what modifications, if any, should be made in the Report of the Committee of Seven", spoke at some length on the substance of the report which had been prepared by the Committee of Five. The speaker called attention to the fact that inasmuch as the report had not as yet been accepted by the Council of the American Historical Association, it must necessarily be taken as unofficial and not as a formal declaration of the final work of the Committee.

The Report of the Committee of Seven was drawn up something over ten years ago and seemed to have considerable effect in determining the curriculum and perhaps even the method of teaching in the secondary schools. The subjects which need to be especially examined and considered at the present time are: (1) the extent of the field of Ancient history, and especially the

emphasis that should be put on the later portion of that period — the five hundred years before the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire — (2) the possibility for rearrangement of the courses in such a manner that there would be opportunity for a fuller study of modern history than is now customarily allowed by the curriculum; and (3) the relation between American history and civil government and whether the two subjects should be considered in one combined course or should be studied in separate courses.

The Committee, after a careful examination of the field, is prepared to report that it cannot disagree essentially with the recommendation of the Committee of Seven concerning the extent of the field of Ancient history. In all probability there are many cases in which an undue amount of attention is paid to the early Oriental history. Although early Oriental history was recommended by the earlier Committee as an indispensable background for the study of the classical peoples, it has not always been understood that it should be given only as a background and ought not to involve the memorizing of dynasties or even the narration of events with any fullness. The Committee of Seven recommended that the course should aim to give an idea of the remoteness of these Oriental beginnings, a definite knowledge of the names, location, and chronological succession of the early Oriental nations, the distinguishing features of their civilizations, and the recognizable lines of their influence on later times. It was also recommended that the survey should not exceed one-eighth of the entire time devoted to Ancient history. This last recommendation has sometimes been interpreted as meaning that one-eighth of the year is a necessary minimum; whereas, in the opinion of the present committee, it should occupy distinctly less than that amount of time.

The suggestion of the Committee of Seven which at-

tracted most attention, and which has been very widely discussed, is the one advising that Ancient history should be carried down to about 800 A. D. The Committee of Five, as already intimated, does not find that it can disagree with this recommendation. In order to relieve the schools, however, from the impression that the later years covered in Ancient history need to be studied with the same thoroughness and attention that is devoted to the earlier portions of the field, the Committee has attempted to suggest with some explicitness how this later portion should be studied and the questions or problems that should be there examined.

The report pays some attention to the general method of approach to be followed in the study of Ancient history, the Committee believing that the study should be made simpler and less abstract than is frequently the case. More attention should be paid to great men and less to the history of institutions. Wars that mean nothing should be omitted, and there should be talks and lessons about things that pupils of fourteen or fifteen can understand. Constitutional details should give way to a study of the great deeds of antiquity and the lives of men who played a conspicuous part in the ancient world. Perhaps no other field of history is more rich in materials of human interest; and it can be made vivid and comprehensible if facts are selected which immature pupils are capable of understanding and appreciating. They will not be fired with enthusiasm by the technicalities of the Roman constitution.

Like the Committee of Seven, the Committee of Five emphasizes the necessity of studying history for general educational purposes and not merely to obtain a certain amount of information from the text. The pupil should be taught to think concerning what he has studied and to use the information which he has gathered. While it is undoubtedly true that the pupil should learn, and learn

thoroughly, what his text contains and should not content himself with obtaining loose and inaccurate information, he should also be taught to do more than merely memorize and repeat what he has been taught. It is plain enough that this whole question is a matter of good judgment and good teaching.

One of the most difficult questions to be handled is that of the relation between civil government and American history. The trouble chiefly results from a lack of time; for, if there were time to give a full year to American history and half a year to Civics in the latter part of the course, there probably would be no great difficulty in satisfying the needs of both subjects. The trouble is that, as a rule, not more than a single year can be given; and this means that there must be special effort to adjust the relations of the two subjects, that each may get its just attention, and that each study may properly support the other. Recognizing the interdependence and interrelationship of these two subjects and believing that they should not be wholly differentiated, the Committee recommends that a certain portion of the time devoted to history and government should be given to the separate study of government.

In the last ten years there has been a new and increasing interest in the study of Modern history. It is desirable, therefore, to discover some arrangement of the curriculum which will enable teachers to devote more time to this study. In the schools which follow the curriculum recommended by the Committee of Seven, as probably a great majority of the schools in the Mississippi Valley do, the second year is given to general European history and often quite as much time, if not more, to the period before 1500 as to the period after that date. The Committee of Five could not see its way to recommending an immediate and complete abandonment of the general arrangement of studies recommended by the ear-

lier Committee. It is apparent that if the teachers desire to emphasize Modern history, they can do so by retaining the general scheme now in vogue and by passing very hastily over the mediaeval period. In other words, the way to emphasize Modern European history is to emphasize it; and this may be done in connection not only with the second year's work but in connection with the third year's work where English history is commonly taken.

This method of emphasis which does not call for any particular rearrangement of the curriculum has, however, its difficulties and its disadvantages, and in the light of these facts the Committee recommends that, where schools are desirous of devoting decidedly more time to modern European history and are willing to make changes in the curriculum to bring that about, English history be placed in the second year of the school course and a separate course in modern European history be given in the third year. In the study of English history, the main line of English growth should be followed, and events and conditions on the continent, that are of importance for the understanding of general European development, should be introduced in connection with the history of England. Such a course would naturally begin with a rapid survey of the conditions in England and on the continent in the later years covered by the course in Ancient history, and, while following the line of development of English history, reach out for a study of significant things in Continental history which will enable students to understand the main course of mediaeval events and the character of mediaeval institutions. An examination of the field of history from this point of view appears to show that it is not at all impossible to do this with a decided degree of success. The report makes a series of suggestions concerning the way in which Continental and English history may be brought together, and

the way in which the main events and conditions on the continent can be linked with English history.

The Committee of Five, therefore, recommends that where conditions are propitious and where the schools are prepared to rearrange their curriculum, four blocks of study should be marked out as follows: (a) Ancient history to 800; (b) English history including, as far as possible, the chief facts of general European history, especially during the mediaeval period, and giving something of American Colonial history; (c) Modern European history; and (d) American history and government.

The discussion of the topic *To What Extent Can an Effective Use of the Sources be Made in Secondary Teaching* was opened by Mr. Edward C. Page of De Kalb, Illinois. Mr. Page spoke of the impossibility of a comprehensive treatment of the subject in the brief time allotted to the discussion and disclaimed the expectation of saying anything new. He looked upon the conference as akin to an "experience meeting". So he spoke of some of his observations and experiences in connection with elementary and secondary schools.

Source material gives sharpness to impressions and fixes facts in the mind. It helps to make history real by imparting the "magic" of life. Mr. Page told of the intense interest of a sixth grade class aroused by reading the story of Lexington as told by an eye-witness and the same story from a contemporary Boston paper and again from a London paper.

The sources can not be the *sole* basis for the study of any event. The material is not available. Even if available, pupils have not sufficient critical judgment to use it — and neither have the teachers. In any case it is not worth while, for the story of the reputable historian is more trustworthy than that of any of his sources.

Sources may be used in a *limited* way as a basis of study. The text-book may be used to give sequence, re-

lation, and proportion. In connection therewith a few typical sources may be used as proofs to show the historic process and to beget in the pupil a sense of assurance. Mr. Page then told of his use of the Declarations of Rights of 1765 and of 1774 in developing the meaning of "no taxation without representation".

The speaker expressed little confidence in text-books wholly made up of selections of sources woven into a continuous narrative. The selections were necessarily made by the editor, no basis for judgment was left for the pupil, and the books were scrappy and altogether uninteresting.

Mr. Page urged a larger use of imaginative literature as source material. He regarded such productions as Lowell's *The Present Crisis*, or *Bigelow Papers*, or Her-
rick's *Memoirs of an American Citizen* as truly historical. Such works give concreteness by their detail, and they are charged through and through with that emotion and feeling which reveal life and communicate living interest. The speaker believed thoroughly in the use of sources in a legitimate way. He found pupils needing experience with just such material and he made constant use of it in his daily instruction.

The discussion was continued by Mr. Jay T. Colegrove, teacher of American and English history in the Cedar Rapids (Iowa) High School, who spoke as follows:—

Since the average high school text-book in American and English history contains less than six hundred pages of actual work, it seems a reasonable contention that the pupils should be required to read more history in the year's course (and a year for each of these subjects ought to be required) than is contained between the covers of the text-book. At present there are several acceptable texts in American and English history, and I should insist that the one used should be made the basis

of the year's work. As the first requisite the mastery of the text should be demanded because it will give the connected narrative of the subject studied. To learn the facts of history is important, but to learn those facts in their proper connection and significance is more important — and this is the main reason for making the text-book the basis of the work.

Among teachers there is a general agreement that the pupils should do more reading than is contained in the text-book, but there is considerable disagreement as to what is the most important for supplementary work. My opinion is that secondary works are preferable to sources. The secondary work is the product of the trained historian and as such gives more facts than can be gained from the same amount of study of sources, and, what is more important, it gives an interpretation of those facts by a professional historian. Such a mature mind must of necessity be superior to both high school teacher and pupil in judgment and in ability to analyze and classify historical facts. Let us not forget that in the high school we are dealing with immature minds and that the time at our disposal for the subject of history is limited. Then, too, because of the importance of the study of history we are expected to give the pupils the greatest amount of historical knowledge consistent with the time at our disposal; and my opinion is that for this secondary works are preferable to sources.

However, I do not contend that the use of sources has no place in the teaching of history in the secondary schools. My opinion is that the teacher who uses no sources is making a grave mistake. For the pupil to gain historical knowledge at first hand is to arouse his interest in the work and make the subject a living reality. A limited use of sources spices the work; it shows how history is made, and thus gives the pupil an introduction to research work and the difficult problems confronting the

professional historian. This I believe to be the proper use of sources in secondary teaching.

To recapitulate: Make the text-book the basis of the work; insist upon the mastery of the connected narrative; use secondary works for the major part of the supplementary reading; but use sources to spice the work and stimulate the pupil's interest.

Professor Guernsey Jones of the University of Nebraska, being unable to be present, submitted the following paper:—

The early discussions of the proper use of historical sources in secondary schools were of necessity, in the absence of prolonged experience, characterized more or less by theoretical dogmatism, with wide divergencies of opinion. I shall endeavor in this paper to subordinate whatever personal opinions I may entertain to a brief statement of the actual experience of Nebraska teachers with the source method, confident that however little weight may be attached to my own opinions, a report of the results of actual experience can not be without interest and value.

The source method has had full swing in Nebraska secondary schools for some fifteen years. Its introduction was due to the initiative of the two historical departments of the University of Nebraska. The position of this institution in the school system of the State is a commanding one. Not only do its graduates fill a large proportion of the teaching positions, but university men are expected to play a prominent part in the inauguration of new pedagogical methods, especially at the meetings of the State Teachers' Association held annually on the University campus. The Nebraska teachers, like the Athenians, are fond of hearing of some new thing, and innovations are warmly welcomed. These conditions, which are no doubt to a great extent typical of western

institutions, explain the comparative ease with which new methods in teaching are introduced and the rapidity with which they spread. The members of our faculty were not then, nor are they now, in complete accord of opinion as to the best use of sources; but they have all favored their employment in some form or other, and there was no active opposition to the source method from any quarter.

The first success of the movement was little less than astonishing. Ten years ago hardly a high school in the State was willing to admit that it did not use the source method. Extreme views, sometimes called "advanced views", were naturally in the ascendant; for in the first flush of enthusiasm, caution and moderation appear at a disadvantage. To many of the teachers the source method meant the relegation of the text-book so far as possible to a position of innocuous desuetude, and those who could report that they made sources "the main basis of the work" — a favorite phrase in those days — felt confident that they were indeed in the van of progress. The object was to make investigators in miniature of the youths, not of course with a view to making professional historians of them, but as a training for civic life through the development of the critical faculty and the ability to extract truth from conflicting evidence. Each extract from the sources was criticised and analyzed; and an outline and narrative were written, with bibliography, footnotes, and all the paraphernalia of erudition. This procedure in whole or in part is still employed with apparent success in certain selected topics, but in those days the entire subject was expected to be covered in this exhaustive manner. If we may judge by the enthusiastic reports of those who used the method, it was a complete success, except in one particular: the selections were so fragmentary that the children were reported to have a defective sense of the continuity of events. This was a rather serious defect, it must be con-

fessed. But of the zest and enthusiasm of both teachers and pupils there could be no doubt. The historical meetings of the State Teachers' Association were thronged. If anyone had misgivings, they were scarcely expressed in public, and the triumph of the principles of the method seemed to be complete.

Within the last few years the situation has completely changed. At the present time at least one-third of the high schools do practically nothing with the sources; and not one, so far as I can discover, makes them "the main basis of the work". Those who disapprove the method make their sentiments known in no uncertain manner. A few of the authorities are hostile; the majority are indifferent. In a word, we are in the throes of a reaction, and the returning swing of the pendulum bears some proportion to its initial movement. The source method is on the defensive.

What is the explanation of this change of sentiment? A reaction of some sort was inevitable, but a number of factors contributed to make it unexpectedly violent. I will discuss them in what seems to me the inverse order of their importance.

Passing over the inertia of the local authorities and their unwillingness to incur the small expenditure necessary to supply the source books, it soon became apparent that the new method was not successful in preparing the pupils to pass the county examinations for teachers' certificates. The county superintendents examined in history, not in historical method, and they reported the applicants trained by the source method deficient in historical information. Many teachers, being of the opinion that the object of historical study is the training of the mind and not the acquisition of knowledge, resented such a crude test of the success of their work and seriously doubted the suitability of examinations in historical subjects. Others, on the contrary, asserted that in addition

to furnishing a better training for the mind, the source method did actually convey more information and more accurate information than the old method, and that the trouble lay not in the lack of information but in the stupidity of the questions. However that may have been, the source method was not a success in preparing the pupils for those particular examinations.

Another cause of discouragement was the unavoidably fragmentary character of the material, which in European history seems to be insurmountable. I do not wish to speak dogmatically of branches that I have never taught. It seems obvious that in American history, which is shorter in time and simpler and more familiar in story, the ground may be more nearly covered in sources. The recent *Source History of the United States* by my colleagues, Professors Caldwell and Persinger, represents a serious effort in this direction, though it will be noticed that the authors do not pretend to offer a satisfactory account of all phases of American history, but only of certain salient aspects of it. They prefer indeed to have the volume used chiefly as illustrative material; but they believe it should frequently be used as a first approach to certain selected topics.

But the most important and the really decisive reason for the passing of the source method is its excessively laborious character. Not only must the teacher assist the pupil to reconstruct step by step with infinite care and pains the narrative, which under the old method was furnished him ready made in the text-book, but the results of this labor were almost of necessity put into written form and kept in an elaborate note-book, to be examined by the teacher after school hours. I can say from experience, and I speak with feeling, that no form of labor ever devised by man can equal this as a complete and certain extinguisher of the joy of living. It is an intellectual treadmill; and this burden was placed upon

teachers who, for the most part, spend six hours daily in the class room. It was very early a subject of complaint. "It takes so much time", the teachers said. To which the source advocates could only exclaim ecstatically: "In the name of heaven, what is time for?" Well, part of it is for the sunlight, the water, and the trees.

The fragmentariness and incoherence of the pupils' knowledge and the exhaustion of the teachers are the real reasons for the partial abandonment of the source method in Nebraska, notwithstanding the elements of strength which it possesses.

But it must not be assumed that the use of sources in Nebraska schools is in a state of collapse. On the contrary, there are signs that the reaction has reached its limits and that the pendulum has again changed its direction. The old source method cannot be revived, nor will the old demonstrative enthusiasm reappear; but the value of the sources as a means of imparting vividness of impression and a sense of the reality of social conditions, ideas and ideals, persons, motives and events, and also as a means for mental discipline is too evident to be long a matter of dispute. Some of our best secondary teachers are showing commendable initiative and independence in adapting methods and parts of methods which they find suitable to their purpose. There are two matters of some interest in the present situation to which I will call attention.

The best work in the sources at present proceeds by way of topical studies, which permits a concentration of energy and a more adequate selection of material. Some of the schools give one quarter, or even one third of their time to this work, which seems to me quite enough. In some schools these studies culminate in two or three papers during the term; in others, written answers to questions are prepared — a much easier and more rapid

procedure. While the mere reading of interesting sources has its place, it seems to me essential that problems and exercises based upon them should be made the subject of class exercises.

As to historical criticism and training in the handling of evidence, little of serious moment is now being attempted. Some teachers consider it beyond the pupils' ability; others are "too busy getting over the ground". But I know of two teachers, and there may be more, who look upon this as one of the most valuable parts of their work. They find their pupils interested in it and they believe high school students to be as capable of training in historical criticism as university undergraduates. On the whole, the results of this experiment can not be said to be conclusive, though they must be distinctly discouraging to its advocates. In the long run, it must stand or fall upon its merits as tested by actual experience; but I can not refrain from noticing a line of theoretical argument by which it is at present defended, and which I find a trifle irritating. There is a constant reference to historical training and historical information as though they were things apart. One occasionally notices even an apparent aversion to the latter, although it is merely another name for the subject-matter of history; and it is assumed that it is possible to train a mind without at the same time informing it. A too great emphasis of historical method and historical training, as though the terms were synonymous, is in fact an emphasis of what is formal in the science at the expense of what is vital; and any science which becomes more interested in its processes than in its results is destined to sterility and decay.

As to the average undergraduate's critical faculty when thrown upon his own resources, I can not take an exalted view of it. The matter must be presented in a few rules of such elementary character that there is little left of the complicated and subtle difficulties of actual criticism,

and it is easy for the student to apply these simplified rules with correctness and reach entirely erroneous conclusions. Nor am I persuaded that the critical faculty, invaluable as it is in many ways, is needed in large quantities by the world at large, especially by the younger part of it. It is not an altogether lovely thing, with its reservations, its cold-blooded suspicions, and its assumption that all men are liars. I once knew two youths in whom some perversely inspired pedagogue had succeeded in awakening prematurely a genuine and acute critical faculty. Their conversation consisted largely in questioning one's statements and demanding proofs. It does seem desirable that the teacher should call attention from time to time to the more obvious considerations of criticism as opportunity offers, but this can be easily overdone; and the cultivation of an habitual and somewhat dampening critical attitude of mind during the youthful period which nature seems to have set apart for enthusiasm and hero-worship does not appeal to my judgment as a suitable object of historical study in the secondary schools.

The discussion of the topic: *To What Extent May the Teaching of History and Civics Be Correlated and How Best Accomplished* was opened by Professor Thomas F. Moran of Purdue University. Mr. Moran spoke as follows:—

The topic which has been assigned to us for this afternoon's discussion has been stated, it seems to me, very wisely and very discriminatingly. Some have contended that history and civics are separate and distinct branches of knowledge and that no successful correlation of them is possible. Others have held that the two subjects are intimately related and that a *complete* correlation is not only possible but desirable. It seems to me that both of these positions are extreme. I can not see

how, in the nature of things, history and civics can be regarded as separate and distinct subjects; and, on the other hand, I can not see how certain topics in local, and particularly in municipal, government can be logically and naturally woven into the historical narrative. For these reasons it seems to me to be wise for the practical teacher to ask, to what extent may the correlation of these subjects be carried and how may this correlation be best accomplished?

I might say at the outset that it seems to me that a very extensive correlation of American history and American civil government is not only possible but highly desirable, and this too from the standpoints of both the history and the civil government. Our governmental institutions constitute a vital part of our historical evolution and their significance can be fully comprehended only in connection with their historical setting. Certain conditions in the course of our historical development have given rise to, or have modified, certain governmental institutions or political forms, and there is an obvious advantage in studying this particular phase of governmental development in connection with the historical conditions out of which it grew. A study of this kind can not fail, it seems to me, to be more complete, interesting, and satisfactory than if made with little or no reference to historical conditions. The study of the historical setting throws a flood of light upon governmental principles and forms, and the study of these principles and forms constitutes the unfolding of the historical narrative along a particular and a very important line. In many of their aspects history and civil government are really *one* and can be separated only by the exercise of an arbitrary violence. There is no natural line of cleavage. In the so-called "critical period", for example, no one can say where history ends and government begins.

It will, perhaps, make our discussion more concrete

and practical if we take a rapid, though comprehensive, view of American history and government, noting their points of contact and the extent to which correlation is practicable and desirable.

THE COLONIES

The relation of the colony to the mother country and the essential features of colonial government may well be taught in connection with the history of colonization. It is important that the pupil should know the kind of government under which the colonists lived *before* and *after* coming to America. He should study the relation of colonial government to the government of England and in a more particular and detailed way, its relation to the local, State, and national governments which were subsequently developed in America. Some features of colonial government should be taught in connection with the history of the leading and typical Colonies — such as Virginia, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania — while a general *resumé* of colonial government and colonial life should be introduced after the history of the planting of the Colonies, or just before a study of the causes of the Revolution. Such a cross section of colonial government and colonial life will constitute a logical and useful part of the history course. In this study of colonial institutions, the three great departments of government, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial, will be seen in embryo. It will be seen at a later time that the colonial governor developed into the State governor, and later into the president of the United States; that the colonial legislature developed into the State legislature, and subsequently into the United States Congress; and that the germ of our present State and national systems of courts is to be found in colonial times. The pupil will note in due time the development, from humble colonial beginnings to

national importance, of such offices as the speakership, and of such principles as the representative and the bicameral. He will also note in connection with a study of colonial government, the origin and development of certain forms and principles of local government, such as the township system, the county system, and the mixed system. A discussion, even though brief, of the town meeting in its primitive form will be of great and fundamental importance in connection with a study of present day local government. All of these topics fall naturally into the historical narrative. Their treatment is as necessary from the standpoint of history as from that of government. The historical narrative is not complete and satisfactory without them. It is usually said, for example, that the establishment of the House of Burgesses in Virginia in 1619 was a very important event because it was the first representative assembly to meet in America; but this bare statement will not be very illuminating unless the teacher explains the nature and shows the importance of the representative principle; and right here is the place to do it — not at a later time in connection with the study of the Constitution.

BEGINNINGS OF UNION

After a study has been made of the individual Colonies, and before the causes of the Revolution are taken up, I believe that the beginnings of union among the English Colonies should be traced and studied. Great stress is frequently put upon the uniting of the Colonies just before the outbreak of the Revolution, but it is a well known fact that the roots of union strike far back of 1776 and even of 1763; and right here is the place to make a study of this sort. The pupil has noted the germ of union in the clauses of the early charters which guaranteed to the colonists all of the rights and privileges of Englishmen; he has studied the Fundamental Orders of

Connecticut of 1639, the New England Confederation of 1643, Franklin's Plan of 1754, and other steps in the development of the union idea. His attention has been called from time to time to the quarrels between the colonists on the one hand and the king, parliament, or colonial governor on the other — some of these dating back a century before the beginning of the War for Independence. A summary of this kind may be quickly and effectively made and will not only place the pre-revolutionary discussions in their proper perspective, but will enable the pupil to study more intelligently the problems of the "critical period", and more particularly of the Constitutional Convention of 1787. By thus viewing the union as a matter of growth rather than of creation, he will be prepared to form intelligent views upon such questions as nullification and secession, and the theories of the Constitution advanced by Webster and Calhoun.

THE REVOLUTION

The history of the causes of the American Revolution can not, I think, be successfully taught without frequent reference to the government of both England and the Colonies. The American Revolution, in a measure at least, grew out of unfortunate governmental conditions in Great Britain. What these conditions were should be made clear. The main outline of the British Government should also be held in mind; otherwise all references to the Grenville and other ministries will be in large part unintelligible. On the other hand, the pupil should obtain an adequate understanding of the Stamp Act Congress, the Provincial Congresses, the Continental Congress, and other agencies used in opposition to British oppression. In this period history and government are so intricately interwoven or, better perhaps, fused that no attempt should be made to separate them.

The political principles of the Declaration of Inde-

pendence should also, of course, be taught in this connection, and incidentally the difference between Whig and Tory principles, both in England and America.

STATE GOVERNMENT

In connection with the Revolution and the critical period, some attention should be given to State government. It was at this time that State government originated. When the Colonies became States they adopted new constitutions, with two exceptions. Between 1776 and 1781 all of the States, with the exception of Rhode Island and Connecticut, discarded their colonial charters or transformed them into State constitutions. These constitutions in their main features resembled each other to a marked degree and do not differ materially in principle from the State constitutions of the present day. A study of the salient features of these constitutions should be made at this point. It is not sufficient to say, as many of the text-books do, that eleven new constitutions were formed in this period of five years. The history of the period has not been taught satisfactorily unless the pupil knows the general nature of these constitutions. A detailed knowledge of the various State constitutions is not essential in any part of the school course. A general outline will suffice with a more detailed study of the constitution of the State in which the school is situated. This survey will familiarize the pupil with the general principles of State government and will enable him to study the constitution of his own State more intelligently. It will also show him that the people in the various States were fairly well governed even though the Articles of Confederation were far from satisfactory. An enumeration of the various defects of the Articles without an adequate treatment of the State governments, would, in all probability, lead the pupil to think that an-

archy must have prevailed in the United States in the "critical period".

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

A study of the Articles of Confederation would naturally, I might say almost inevitably, be made in connection with a study of the "critical period". This study should include not merely an enumeration of the defects of the Articles, which is so often done, but an outline of their general principles. As a matter of fact, the Articles have been too severely condemned as a form of government. They were not perfect, but they constitute an important link in the development of our national government, and were probably as good and as strong a form of government as the people were willing to accept at this time.

In connection with the Ordinance of 1787, the main features of our territorial system of government may well be taught.

THE MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION

In connection with this same period the interesting and important work of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 should be adequately treated. From the standpoint of its *personnel* and achievement, this convention was perhaps the most important that ever assembled in America, and a considerable emphasis should be put upon it. I would be disposed to emphasize the work of the Constitutional Convention even though I were compelled to omit the Johnstown Flood, the Charleston Earthquake and the maneuvers of Coxey's Army of the commonwealth. A study of the arguments *for* and *against* the ratification of the Constitution will afford an excellent introduction to a study of the Constitution itself.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT

After the making and the ratification of the Constitution have been duly considered, the pupil should make a

careful study of the new form of government. In other words, a study should be made at this point of the national government. This study should be presented in simple and untechnical language and should be as detailed and as comprehensive as the maturity of the pupils and the nature of the course will permit. Such a study falls in very naturally at this place. The pupil has heard a great deal in the course of his study about the failure of the Articles, the necessity for a stronger form of government, about the deliberations of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and the contests over ratification. Now that the Constitution has been formed and ratified, logically the pupil should know something, in a more definite and systematic way, of the form of government itself. Such a study is necessary to the rounding out of the history of the previous period, and doubly necessary for the understanding of the history which is to follow. This is the plan followed in the schools of Madison, Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Louisville, St. Louis, Cleveland, and many other cities which I might mention. In many cases the operation of the new government is taken up with the year 1789 without the pupil's knowing what the new government really was. This is a blind process. The study of the new government is left until the end of the course when certain parts of the Constitution — set forth in fine print at the end of the book — are read out of all connection with the historical setting, and in language so technical and legal as to be practically unintelligible to young pupils. If no time remains at the end of the course, as is frequently the case, the study is omitted altogether, and a large proportion of the pupils take up their life work with no definite instruction in that government in which they are to participate as citizens.

THE NATIONAL PERIOD

Opportunities for the correlation of history and

civics occur at frequent intervals all through the national period. The organization of the three great departments of government will be noted in Washington's first term. The significance of the inaugural address and the presidential message will form a logical part of the historical narrative. The origin of the Cabinet and its early duties will also call for consideration. The varying relations of the President to his Cabinet may be well observed in the administrations of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Pierce, and Lincoln. The duties of the various Cabinet ministers will be noted in connection with the establishment of their departments by Congress. The functions of the Supreme Court will appear naturally in connection with the notable decisions of Chief Justice Marshall and in connection with the Dred Scott case, the legal tender and other leading cases. In setting forth the organization of the new government under Washington reference to ministers and consuls can hardly be avoided. The pupils should know the duties of these officials. Otherwise he might wonder, for example, why Robert R. Livingston happened to be in France at the time of the Louisiana Purchase. In Hamilton's financial plan the strands of history and government are again interwoven. The nature of some of the general principles of international law may be effectively taught in connection with the various treaties made by the United States, and also in connection with the Monroe Doctrine, the question of the blockade, the Genet episode, the Alabama Claims, the Trent Affair, and numerous other international incidents. It is usually stated that on the 4th of March, 1791, Vermont, the fourteenth State, was admitted into the union. The pupil will naturally wish to know what this means and an explanation of the process, including the enabling act and the President's proclamation, will be very much to the point. In connection with the establishment of the

United States Bank an excellent opportunity is afforded to explain the difference between the views of the "liberal constructionists" on the one hand and the "strict constructionists" on the other. This difference is fundamental and vital to the discussion of States rights, internal improvements, nullification, and secession. The exercise of the veto power may well be studied in connection with the administrations of Andrew Jackson and Grover Cleveland; and a study of the merit system and of civil service reform may logically be made in connection with Jackson's administration and also in connection with the passage of the Pendleton and other acts for the reform of the civil service. The nature and importance of the national nominating convention and of the platform may also be studied when they appear, as they do for the first time, in Jackson's administration. In the debate on Foote's Resolution in the United States Senate, between Webster and Hayne, the fundamental nature of the Constitution is brought into question; and during the whole slavery controversy the rights of Congress, particularly in the Territories, constitute the principal bone of contention. A discussion of the right of petition and of the freedom of the mails may be made in connection with the abolition agitation; and the war powers of the President may be taught in connection with the Civil War, the Emancipation Proclamation, and the suspension of the Writ of *Habeas Corpus*. The significance of the first ten amendments to the Constitution should be set forth in connection with a study of the document itself. The eleventh amendment may be studied in connection with the case of *Chisholm vs. Georgia*, and the twelfth in connection with the election of 1800, while the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments may logically be considered in connection with the Civil War and Reconstruction.

PRESENT DAY GOVERNMENT AND AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

In the latter part of the history course, whether in the grammar grades or in the high school, provision is usually made for a comprehensive view of national, present-day conditions. Many of the text-books, after carrying the narrative in the regular way down to the present time, make provision for a study of recent industrial, social, and legislative progress. Right here is an excellent place for a study of present-day government with incidental reference to its ethical aspects. Such a study will have a direct and wholesome bearing upon the training for citizenship. In this connection the nature, advantages, and use of the initiative, referendum, and recall may be explained; the problem of immigration may be studied in its social, industrial, and political aspects; the spread and operation of primary election laws may be noted; the privileges, duties, and responsibilities of the voter may be dwelt upon in connection with a discussion of independent voting, the Australian ballot, the short ballot, and the various laws which have been passed in the interest of honest elections; the effects of bribery and undue pressure in elections may be pointed out; political parties, including the socialists and other minor organizations, may be discussed; the importance of jury service may be emphasized, and a summary may be made of recent legislation of comprehensive scope, such as the pure food law, the various laws for regulating railway rates and improving the civil service. Throughout such a study as this the elements of a true (not a blatant) patriotism and of a wholesome public spirit may be inculcated incidentally. I do not think that the teacher should bring his pulpit into the class-room, yet I do think that he should not hesitate to give, upon proper occasions, his views as to what is right and what is wrong.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

If this plan of correlation has been carried out the pupil will at this point have a good working knowledge of the national government and a general knowledge of State and local government. It now remains to supplement his knowledge of local, and particularly of municipal, government. In order to do this the pupil should study the history and government of his own State, county, village or city. His knowledge of State and local government in general will be adequate. It now remains for him to study in a detailed way the institutions of his own locality. This may be done by means of State supplements or by manuals prepared especially for the purpose, and such teaching should have to do, not with lifeless forms and principles alone, but with the every-day life of the citizen and his relation to the community. Such a study should include, not city charters and State constitutions alone, but such topics as sanitation, public health and cleanliness, city beautification, parks and playgrounds, libraries and baths, and scores of other things which touch the daily life of the citizen. These topics constitute the real essence, not the dry husks, of civic teaching.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

An argument frequently made against the correlation plan is to the effect that this method provides no logical place for the teaching of municipal government. It is undoubtedly true that there is no place in the historical narrative where a discussion of municipal government could logically be taken up; but it is also true, I think, that in our secondary and elementary schools little or no time should be given to the *general* study of municipal government. In the first place, a large majority of the school children do not live in cities, and there is little point in emphasizing municipal government for the boy

who has no prospect of ever being a resident of a city. In the second place, what the city boy or girl really needs is a knowledge of municipal government, not of a *general* character, but of the city in which he lives. It would seem to me, therefore, that the study of municipal government should be confined, for the most part, to the pupils who live in cities, and should deal with the governments of particular cities, and not with those of cities in general. Systems of municipal government vary widely in different localities in the United States, and the boy is interested primarily in the government and institutions of his home city. This view of the matter is now spreading rather rapidly. The following item recently appeared in the newspapers:

The Buffalo Board of Education is considering a proposition to introduce in the public schools a text book on Buffalo, which will give the pupils some knowledge of the industries and institutions of the city in which they live.

Other cities have already done what is being contemplated in Buffalo. The city of Cleveland, for example, has provided in its course of study a splendid outline for the study of the government and institutions of that city. This study is given in the fall term of the eighth grade. The Milwaukee course of study provides for a study of the government of that city to be given in the eighth grade, at the close of a combination course in history and civics.

There are some teachers who object to the placing of this supplementary study of State and local government after a study of national government has been made. They argue that a study of local government should logically precede a study of national government. I am inclined to think that this position has been over-emphasized. I believe that good results may be obtained by either arrangement.

A recent report advocates the teaching of local gov-

ernment first in the case of some of the States, and of the national government first in the case of others. While I have seen most excellent results from the teaching of local government first, I do not believe that the arguments in favor of this method are necessarily final. At the last meeting of the North Central History Teachers' Association one of the speakers argued in favor of this plan on the ground that it was in conformity with the pedagogical principle of going from the known to the unknown. It was assumed, apparently, that the child was more familiar with local than with national government. I have found, by actual experimentation, that school children have a better general knowledge of the President and Congress than they do of local bodies and officers. They know very much more about the duties of the President, the Speaker, and the Secretary of State than they do about the County Auditor and the Township Trustee. However, if it is desired that the study of local institutions should precede that of the national government, such a study in a simple form may be placed in the lower grades, as is done in many American cities.

I would say, in conclusion, that this combined, or better, perhaps, correlated method of teaching history and civics is not based on mere theory, but has given good results in actual practice. It seems to me, also, for reasons which I have not now the time to discuss, that the arguments in favor of the correlated course are much stronger in the case of the grammar grades than in the case of the high school. In order to test the views and the experience of teachers and superintendents in regard to this matter, I sent a questionnaire to about two hundred persons in widely separated localities. I received one hundred and forty-eight replies; and of these seventy-seven favored separate courses for the high school; fifty-five, combination courses; while sixteen were undecided. While for the grammar grades one hundred and

fifteen favored the combination course, fifteen the separate course with fifteen undecided and three favoring no course in civics at all for these grades. I would not leave the impression that the plan which I have outlined is the only plan whereby good results may be obtained. Good results have been obtained by both methods; but I believe that the plan involving a correlation of these two subjects involves less repetition and less waste of energy, and is at the same time more logical and satisfactory than any other plan which has been proposed.

Professor O. M. Dickerson of Macomb, Illinois, Professor of History and Government in the Western Illinois State Normal School, continued the discussion with the following remarks:—

It was my understanding that this discussion was to be confined to the actual experience of those participating. For that reason I shall not refer to printed discussion of the subject, but shall limit myself to what I have gained from first-hand experience.

In the State Normal School where I teach we have an academy, which corresponds closely to a very good high school. The pupils are of average high school age—perhaps a little older. We have separate courses in American history and in civics. The course in history has usually been given before that in civics, but this year we have given them in the reverse order. Strange as it may seem to some, the work in civics proved of even more help to the history, than the history did to the civics. Both subjects are closely related, and each reinforces the other.

I have watched with much interest the movement to combine the history and civics courses, and have tried to correlate them as far as possible. I know that it is perfectly feasible to do about all that Professor Moran says can be done. It is both possible and desirable to

teach many of the evolutionary phases of government in connection with the history courses; but there is always the danger that the history taught will become too severely institutional. It certainly is not desirable to draw in so much of civics and of the history of institutions as to leave no time for an account of economic and industrial movements.

In connection with history, we teach something of local government in New England and in Virginia at the time of the Revolution; watch the town meeting at work under the direction of Samuel Adams; and follow the formation and adoption of the Constitution. It is possible to learn some of the main provisions of the Constitution and the successive amendments as they were adopted. Some account of the organization of the executive, legislative, and judicial departments must be taught in connection with Washington's administration. Even the principles governing the interpretation of the Constitution have to be studied in connection with Webster, Hayne, Calhoun, Lincoln, and Davis. Lastly, the organization of political parties and the appearance of the national nominating convention must be taught as a part of history. But after we have done all this, we found that the main field of civics had scarcely been touched.

Civics is a utilitarian subject. It is taught with the deliberate aim of preparing pupils for citizenship — not in a general sense, but in a specific one. In a republic such as ours each member of the community is responsible for good government. The boys, and probably the girls, in a short time will be voters. Upon them will fall the serious business of selecting officers and deciding governmental policies. Aside from earning a living, politics is the most important duty imposed upon any individual. Civics has found its way into the curriculum in answer to a positive need. It should be taught with

the deliberate purpose of preparing the pupil to meet the political responsibilities of citizenship and to discharge them with credit to himself and with safety to the nation. Now I humbly submit that the school has not done its entire duty by the pupil in preparing him to vote more intelligently, if it limits its work to the historical and evolutionary phases of government.

Somewhere in his school course the pupil should learn how our government is actually carried on to-day. A knowledge of how it was conducted fifty or a hundred years ago will not suffice, for he must be a present-day voter. Professor Moran says this little matter can be disposed of in connection with the closing chapter of the average history text, where a sort of bird's-eye view of conditions in the country to-day is presented. The difficulty is that the average class never gets to the closing chapters of the text; and even if it did, the matter is too important to be dismissed in such a superficial manner.

The greater portion of the facts necessary to an understanding of government as it is actually carried on to-day, I have been unable to present in connection with history. Most of our courses in history practically close with Reconstruction. Where, in such a course, can one deal with the work of the national government in regulating inter-state commerce, in checking rate discrimination against the pupils' own town, in preventing rebating, in checking great combinations in restraint of trade, or its most efficient work in securing for the pupil and the rest of us honestly labeled food products? In what part of my history can I present an account of the work of the national government in reclaiming the arid regions of the West, in aiding agriculture in all of its phases, in conserving our natural resources, in safeguarding railroad and water transportation, in checking the infamous "white slave traffic", and many other practical things which directly concern the individual? I confess I have

failed to find any place in a course in history where any of these things can be presented without distorting the historical perspective. They would have to be dragged in, and that could be done as well in any other subject as in history.

An even larger field of knowledge, with which it is most imperative the intelligent voter and citizen should be familiar can not possibly be taught in connection with the history, namely, the very important field of State and local government. No other portion of our civics is more important than this, for none touches the average individual so closely.

It is the State and local governments that tax the individual most heavily, provide him with roads, guard his house from thieves, protect him and his family from bodily harm, prevent fires, supply him with water, gas, electric lights, sewers, and transportation, ward off contagious diseases, protect his health, abate nuisances, educate his children, administer justice between man and man, create corporations, fix the laws of property, register his birth, marriage, and death, provide adequately trained teachers, lawyers, and doctors, and take care of the pauper, the delinquent, the defective, and the criminal. All these things and many more are done for the individual by the State and local governments; yet a combined course offers no place for them to be taught.

I hold that these subjects are just as necessary and suitable for instruction in our schools as are the names of Washington's first cabinet or a description of New England town government in 1750. I hold that the problems connected with these subjects are even more essential to the average citizen than is the story of the growth of some of our institutions; but under the combined course I found no provision for their treatment. For that reason we have a special course called civics.

In conclusion, we have found that it is possible to

correlate history and what has sometimes been called civics; but that after such correlation has been carried to its most reasonable limits, a separate course is still necessary. This course deals with the actual government of the State and Nation. The whole emphasis is upon how governments work, what they do for the individual, the importance of having honest and capable officials to run them, the duty of the individual toward the various units of our government, and how he can perform that duty. In no other way, except through a separate course, do we think we can discharge our duty in preparing our pupils for the serious duty of political citizenship.

Principal L. A. Fulwider of the Freeport, Illinois, High School spoke as follows:—

Probably the important fact to keep in mind in this discussion is the student body, the adolescent boys and girls in the secondary schools. They have passed the time when memory is the predominant mental trait. Reason is developing and the significance of facts appeals strongly. They are not men and women, nor college students. Most of them never go to college. The first consideration in studying civics and history in high school is that the subjects must be made interesting and pleasing to the students. Here interest is aroused through biography, through understanding the significance of facts, and by getting for the first time some sense of the great movements of history. It is the time to train the power of independent inference rather than the memory and the ability to retain essentials and neglect non-essentials, to follow through from the beginning to end some processes of history and civics, rather than the reproduction of a vast amount of information. The spirit of inquiry and investigation is strong and ripe for development.

I take it that the aim of the study of civics is not to enable students to pass civil service examinations. If the idea is to prepare students for entrance to the Naval Academy or to pass some county superintendent's examinations, no one would object to the cramming method or to an unrelated grind over a text-book.

Why do we teach civics at all? To answer that question we must pay less attention to the subject matter and more to the students themselves. Now, they are adolescents: later, they will be men and women. If we teach civics and history to train for citizenship, it must be a training that will show results five and ten years later. Then it will be not what they have studied: not how much they have studied, but what they have retained, that becomes a guiding force in their lives. Shall we drill and drill into the students a multitude of forms and facts, most of which will soon be forgotten? Or shall we lead them to comprehend and feel the few great principles of civic processes? Is it a latent, academic citizenship that is desired? Or is it the development of an active civic will, inspired by a few civic ideals grounded deep in our history, that is desired?

Suppose a case where civic action is desired. What will determine whether there is civic apathy or civic action? Is it an academic knowledge of terms and forms? Or is it that the citizen sees that some vital principle is being violated, vital to him, his community, and to the State. If he is not able to comprehend the drift of things about him, academic civics will never produce action. If, on the other hand, he is aroused on a great civic problem, he will easily and readily find the constituted channels for political action. The ward boss knows minutely the forms of civil government, because through them he has a purpose to accomplish. All that we can do is to see to it that he is opposed by men of strong, high civic purposes, and they will master him on his own ground.

Whenever a man, a precinct, a town, or a State is thoroughly aroused by great civic ideas and ideals, no lack of civic forms will cause serious delay.

I want to make the point that the interest of the student should be from within — not a transient interest in the day's recitation, nor interest inspired by teachers and tests, but an interest that arises from the student's grasp of situations. Continuity of study and the tracing of movements develops the investigating spirit, the desire to grasp the significance of facts. A real, natural interest in the study of civic forms and duties must come out of the student's experience as developed in the study of history.

In our school we try to correlate civics and history in ten months' work, required of all fourth year students. I believe in this correlation because I feel that the two subjects are inseparable and because one helps the other. A few illustrations will explain the method.

That student is best prepared to study the Constitution who brings most to it in 1787. In the main it was the experiences of Colonial history that made the Constitution. When the child begins the study of the Constitutional Convention he should have these experiences back of him, and he should feel that further progress depends on what is done there.

The idea of a written constitution and the American idea of a power above the legislature are best learned by the people in action. The Mayflower Compact affords an early opportunity. Here the student looks back into English history, to the Great Charter of 1215 and the Bill of Rights, and forward to our own Constitution. The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut and the Colonial Charters present a larger view. During the Revolution, the student sees the States making new constitutions to take the place of charters. The Articles of Confederation are our first general constitution. With these forms

studied in action, the student sees the opening of the Convention of 1787 in the light of experience. Constitution making is not a new idea. It is the next natural, logical, necessary step.

In Colonial history he has studied the people in action through governors, through senates and assemblies, and through the court. Such evils as unrestrained executive power, and senates and councils and courts not responsible to the people, are kept in mind. Method of election, term of office, duties of officials, and functions of governmental bodies are studied in the concrete.

The "critical period" shows the failure of the Articles when they must stand alone as the structure of a government, no longer held together by the stress of war. Not generalizations, but historical facts, bring out the necessity for a stronger control over legislatures — such facts as the "rag money" mania, the powers of Congress, the powers of the States, the necessity of a common arbiter between the States and Congress; controversies between the States over the tariff, trade and boundary lines, necessity for a national revenue, anarchy in Shay's Rebellion, the jealousy between the small and large States, the necessity of a general government with power to enforce obedience.

As far as possible the student should approach the Federal Convention with the same experiences and knowledge as that possessed by the delegates themselves. Every great fact of the Constitution is then seen to be the result of past experience; every compromise the outcome of past controversy; every governmental principle and form merely the registering of the general will because of previous history. In fact, the Constitution thus studied is not a series of abstractions, but a tangible reality; not a mystery, but a plain, common sense solution of problems already studied; not a few clauses to be learned but the student sits as a delegate to the Convention and

watches the men at work there settling problems he is familiar with. The student brings together the main materials for the Constitution and builds it over again himself. He does not memorize the powers and limitations of the executive, of Congress, and of the State. He sees the Convention deal with States that had had too much power; with Congress that had had too little power; he knows why the executive authority is strengthened and why it is surrounded with limitations and safeguards. He reads that the control of commerce is transferred from the States to Congress and he understands the reasons because he has just studied the trade controversies between the States and because he has seen the necessity of a national revenue. He finds that States can not coin money. This means something to him, because he has just observed the evils of the paper money craze, and the irresponsibility of State legislatures. He has studied the slavery question in the Colonies and understands those compromises. When he studies the amendments, he sees there only the national will securing those ideas of personal liberty that he has seen repeatedly violated and which had aroused the Nation. Every one of the amendments points back to a fierce conflict which he has recently studied, and some reach far back into European history. When studying the writs of assistance, the student will be asked to look forward and to think out what the Constitutional Convention would do with that principle; and when he studies Article IV of the amendments, he will be led to look back to the time of James Otis. The student has observed several years of conflict between the States and the Congress, and can see the necessity for a supreme court to prevent the encroachments of the one upon the other. The time to study the Constitution is ripe in 1787. It is then a *part of* history not apart *from* it. No time should be taken to study any part of the Constitution that has not already

been made a part of the student's experience in the study of history. The Constitution will then be seen to be one of the biggest facts of our history. It should be printed in the body of the text, in large type. It never deserved to be lost in fine print among the statistical tables in the appendix. Marginal references and footnotes should point back to origins and forward to interpretations. To illustrate, we may use the Dartmouth College case. Section 10, Article 1, denies the right of State legislatures to impair the obligation of contracts. References should point back to the irresponsible State legislatures of the "critical period", and forward to Webster and the Dartmouth College case of 1819. The Constitution should be embodied in the text, where it looks both ways in our history. A real genuine interest must be aroused before we proceed to a detailed study of forms. An intense interest is aroused by a study of Supreme Court decisions, as in the cases of *Marbury vs. Madison*, *McCulloch vs. Maryland*, and the Dartmouth College case. After that it is time enough to know the number of men on the Supreme Court, their term of service and salary, and to pursue a further study of the Federal courts.

When the interest is high on principle, is the time to study forms. The Constitution shows how a new State may be formed within an old State. Students want to know that fact when Vermont and Maine are admitted into the Union. The "elastic" clause of the Constitution may be studied in a general way in 1787, but it has a real vital interest in 1791 when Hamilton and Jefferson are in a great controversy over the United States Bank. The first lesson in diplomacy and the making of treaties is learned when a detailed study of the Treaty of Paris is made in 1783. The weakness of our foreign relations under the Articles makes clear the necessity for the treaty-making power as stated in the Constitution; but the best time to study that clause is when interest is in-

tense on Jay's Treaty. How does a Territory become a State? Let the students learn the process in connection with the exciting times of the Missouri Compromise. Are citizens of one State entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the several States? Let this question be answered in the study of the second Missouri Compromise and not by committing to memory clause 1, section 2, of Article IV in fine print in the appendix. A good time to study the powers of the Senate in detail is in 1830. After a week or so on the Webster-Hayne debate, the interest is strong enough to warrant the study of the Senate in detail. When shall we study the civil service? When the interest is at high tension during Jackson's administration. When Jackson makes his attack on the Bank, the class should study paper money, wildcat banking, specie payments, and the national banking system of to-day. He has already studied the finances of the "critical period", Hamilton's Bank, and the conditions of 1816 to 1822. He has enough history and interest back of him in 1834 to carry him into a study of the money and banking systems of to-day. Our system of nominating conventions, platforms, and party organization may be studied at the time when the old caucus gave way to the national convention. This study will lead to the direct primary laws of to-day.

The best way to study the State is to study the State in action. Let the students follow Jefferson from Washington's Cabinet to the State legislatures where he aroused a movement that changed largely the policy of the Nation in the elections of 1800. The Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858 afford an excellent opportunity. Let Henry Clay and his agitation for internal improvements, the national road, afford an excellent opportunity to study the conservation movement and whether it is to be by State or national authority. Historical conditions have demanded at intervals the establishment of new ex-

ecutive departments. Then is the time and there is the place to study these departments. Immigration and naturalization follow naturally the interest aroused in the alien laws or in the Know Nothing Party.

Why not study the jury system when we come to that point where the Declaration of Independence states the denial of the right of jury trial as one of the causes of the Revolution? Let the students see how the anti-slavery controversy was thrust upon national attention by State conventions and State legislatures. Let them see that railroad rate regulation and corporation control only reached the national capital in earnest after the machinery of the States had set up a wave of public opinion that would not be denied. Let them see how to-day the "progressive" movement in national politics won its first battles in State conventions and State legislatures. Let them study the political situation at Washington to-day, and see that the would-be masters there are trimming, as far as possible, because of the power of public opinion expressed through organized State government. Then close the story with the Convention of Governors. Having back of him the history that shows that State governments have always been and are now most powerful factors in great national affairs, the student will have the interest necessary to study the various departments and functions of State government. Far more than a mere academic knowledge as of townships, counties, and States, from chapters of formal civil government, will a study of the State in action arouse that civic ideal and civic activity which all desire.

Some ideas of townships and counties will be gleaned from the early history of Massachusetts and Virginia. But the time of highest interest in the study of these forms of local government is when the town meeting and the county court are seen in action opposing the English king and organizing the Revolution. The town hall and

the general court are then seen to be the means of expressing the intelligent will of the people. Effective comparison may be made with the autocracy of Canada, and the condition of the French and Spanish people when they permit the machinery of local expression to be absorbed by the central power. There is then interest enough to carry the student into a study of a multitude of facts about the officials and forms of local government. Let them see that the great reform movements have first found expression through precincts, wards, townships, then counties, congressional districts, States, and finally the Nation at large. The local option movement is a good illustration of that idea. The organization of political parties from the National Executive Committee down through State, district, county, township and precinct, the distribution of speakers and campaign literature, the taking of the poll, the selecting of delegates, show not only a complete organization but indicate very clearly how the higher forms are made up of men and ideas from lower forms. The question of delegate conventions and direct primaries, has a close relation to, and is a part of, the political life of the country and not just so much civics to be memorized. Then the student will see the evils of the political machine, the rule of bosses, and the apathy of the voter, and understand that the structure is no stronger than its foundation. After that there may be an interest sufficient to study the community needs and how these may be served through local governmental machinery.

Correlation will best enable us to eliminate a mass of material from both civics and history so that the aim of both may more nearly be realized, by putting the emphasis on great abiding principles, and the spirit of American institutions.

The formal discussion was closed by Mr. H. C.

Wright of Berwyn, Illinois, teacher of civics in the J. Sterling Morton High School. A number took part in the open discussion which followed Mr. Wright's summary. He spoke in part as follows:—

It would seem that the time has come to divorce the teaching of government from the teaching of United States history (courses which are now usually offered in a one year's course entitled American History) and to grant separate maintenance for each in a one year's course for American government and a one year's course for American history, each to be an elective study in the high schools. It must be apparent to the least observing that to-day United States government in many phases of its national, State, and local form is undergoing criticism, modification or alteration. To make this criticism intelligent and the modifications and alterations conform to what is of value in the old and up to the approved in the new, it is necessary for the citizen to have considerable detailed and fresh information in present-day civics. This body of reliable and up-to-date information is not in the American history texts, and in but few isolated cases is it in the possession of history teachers, who too often are trained only in the purely historical phase of American life, knowing something of our past down to the Reconstruction period but little of our present civic activities or practices. And just as heads of University history departments discovered some years ago that their subject was not receiving the best treatment in the hands of teachers trained to teach Latin or science, so it would appear that political science departments might send up the cry of inability of history teachers to present government adequately.

I believe there is much evidence available to show that the time is ripe for a separate course in American government, and further that the material is at hand to give the work in as scientific a manner as the historical

method provides. Primary material is available in the transactions of town boards, city and county boards, as well as in the various school boards at work in every community; and an abundance of secondary material is constantly appearing in the local press and the nation wide periodicals. Graphic diagrams may be made to illustrate studies in statistics, and a record kept of informal notes on reading done in connection with the course. Illustrative material from the news column may be edited and traced to the historical source. The faculty of discrimination between fact and prophecy or between information and opinion may be developed. Special reports give opportunity to require information and to gain efficiency in putting forth in a skillful way what one knows. Civics should be taught as a disciplinary and educational subject.

The teacher of government in the high school should have done graduate work in the political science field and in the field of history and economics. The required courses in the arts and science colleges are not sufficient preparation.

A school library of fifty volumes should be available, and access possible to five of the best weekly and monthly periodicals, and to at least two of the leading dailies read in the community.

Besides reading, studying, and discussing a good text-book, the pupil should read a minimum of three hundred twenty pages of carefully selected collateral material. The teacher should see to it that the pupil gets the desired results from this reading. Daily written evidence of what he has read should be exacted from the pupil. Standard atlases, almanacs, State manuals, State and Federal statutes, blank documents, congressional reports of all kinds, governmental bulletins, and photographs of municipal building and work should be provided in connection with the class-room work.

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